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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

I R A Q

PART 5

January to December 1951

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

IRAQ—PART 5

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

EQ 1011/1

No. 1

IRAQ: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1950

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th January)

(No. 4. Confidential)
Sir,

Bagdad,

5th January, 1951.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a review of events in Iraq during the year 1950. I am indebted to Mr. Gamble for the section on economic affairs, and for the rest of the report to Mr. Richmond.

I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jedda, Tel Aviv, the British Middle East Office, His Majesty's Consular Officers in Iraq and the Air Officer Commanding in Iraq.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 1

General

The increasing international tension and the successes of the Communist bloc in Asia during 1950 have led Iraqi Governments to consider more seriously the question of Iraq's defence against aggression from the North-East. The Iraqi governing classes remain attached to the British alliance, and are generally prepared to play whatever part may be allotted to them in our plans for the defence of the Middle East as a whole. They have, however, to proceed with great caution since nationalist opinion influenced by Egypt and by Soviet propaganda is always ready to attack them for subordinating Iraqi interests to those of the Western Powers.

2. During 1950 the Iraq Government has taken some important steps towards the economic development of Iraq. After three years of urging from this embassy they have set up a Development Board which has a British financial expert and secretary-general, and which will have an American irrigation or engineering expert. They have asked for a British irrigation engineer for

the Ministry of Communications and Works, and are actively studying what form of assistance they should ask for under the American Point Four Programme. They are also making use of the assistance available from various agencies of the United Nations Organisation.

3. The illness and death on 21st December of Queen Aliyah, the mother of King Faisal, interrupted his education at Harrow and caused the Regent, who was devoted to his sister, to withdraw almost entirely from active interest in public affairs for the last four and a half months of the year. It caused the postponement of his projected visits to Spain and to Pakistan, and also of the return visit of the Shah of Iran to Bagdad.

Internal Politics

4. Three Governments administered Iraq during 1950. The first, led by Ali Jaudat al Ayyubi, was essentially a combination of Nuri Pasha's opponents, although it contained at least one of his supporters and two of Saleh Jabr's. Shortly before it took over in December 1949 Nuri, with Saleh Jabr's assistance, had formed a political party, the Constitutional Union Party, which had been joined by a majority of the independent members of the Chamber of Deputies, including most of the tribal deputies, who in the past had been accustomed to vote automatically for whatever Government was in power, as long as that Government retained the confidence of the Regent. This party had a majority in the Chamber which the Government was unwilling to face. They therefore adjourned its sittings and did not present a programme to it. Ali Jaudat resigned on 1st February, having encountered opposition to his policy, inspired by Muzahim al Pachachi, Deputy

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Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, of concluding an agreement with Egypt on non-intervention in Syria. His Government's sole achievement was the abolition of martial law.

5. The succeeding Government was headed by Taufiq Sewaidi. There were, however, none of his personal supporters in it. It was a combination of the supporters of Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. The latter was in the Government as Minister of Interior, but Nuri Pasha remained outside and his party was represented by some of its younger members who are cordially disliked by Saleh Jabr. This Government looked a fairly strong one on paper, but its internal differences proved to be irreconcilable and its achievements did not correspond with its possibilities.

6. One of its first actions was an attempt to deal with the problem of Iraqi Jews whose position, although improved since the summer of 1948, had remained one of considerable difficulty. In particular, educational, professional and, to a lesser extent, commercial opportunities were with some exceptions denied them. As a result some emigration of Iraqi Jews had taken place during 1949. In December of that year the lifting of martial law reduced considerably the penalties attached to such emigration with the result that its volume greatly increased. Since the Iraqi authorities found themselves unable to control it, the Government introduced in March 1950 legislation giving Iraqi Jews the right to leave Iraq on condition that they abandoned their Iraqi nationality. After a slow start the Jews availed themselves of this opportunity in very large numbers, and by the end of the year some 90,000 had recorded their intention to depart. About 19,000 of them had left for Israel via Cyprus in the aircraft of an American charter company under contract with the Jewish Agency. No other air company has so far been permitted by the Israel Government to participate in this airlift. The Iraq Government are most anxious for the remainder to go as soon as possible, and have explored various alternative methods of transport, so far without success. They have been talking wildly of pushing large number over the frontier to Kuwait or of collecting them in concentration camps until transport is available. On the other hand, the Israel authorities are unwilling to increase very much the present rate of intake, which is between 3,000 and 4,000 a month. His Majesty's Government represented to the Israel Government that

they should review the immigration quota of Iraqi Jews on humanitarian grounds, and that British airlines should be allowed to participate in the airlift.

7. On 7th March thirty-seven Deputies, who made up almost the entire opposition in Parliament, submitted their resignations after a stormy scene between a supporter of Nuri Pasha and a supporter of Muzahim al Pachachi. This resignation was in the main a protest against the control of the Chamber which Nuri had obtained by the formation of the Constitutional Union Party. It proved to be quite ineffective. The resigning Deputies found themselves incapable of continued collective action and their gesture, which had at first excited some sympathy among young Iraqis, was lost in their own quarrels. By-elections were held on 10th June, and the Government was rid of its most effective parliamentary opponents.

8. The internal differences inside the Government itself gradually became more acute, and a three-cornered struggle between the Prime Minister, Saleh Jabr and Nuri's supporters in the Cabinet developed. For instance, the Prime Minister made use of the Constitutional Union Party's majority in the Chamber of Deputies to block the passage of a new press law to which Saleh Jabr attached considerable importance. Most of their differences, however, were on personal matters and no questions of political principles were at issue. Nevertheless, the differences became so bitter that by the middle of July the Regent, who had up to then opposed any governmental changes, decided that the Cabinet must be reconstructed. Action was postponed until the return of Nuri Pasha, from London where he had been engaged in negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company. No sooner had Nuri returned than the Regent himself left hurriedly for London where his sister, the Queen Mother, had been taken seriously ill. A further six weeks of ineffective life was thus granted to the Government. Taufiq Sewaidi resigned reluctantly on 12th September.

9. The third Government of 1950 was formed by Nuri Pasha on 16th September. He encountered considerable difficulties in its formation. He had originally hoped to include in it both Saleh Jabr and Taufiq Sewaidi. The former made conditions which Nuri was unwilling to accept and to have included Sewaidi without Saleh Jabr would have sharpened his own differences with Saleh to an extent which he was unwilling to face. He therefore formed what

he described as a skeleton Cabinet which lacked Ministers of Interior, Finance and Foreign Affairs. He declared that this Government would concentrate on economic development and administrative reform, and that the vacant portfolios would eventually be filled by new and suitable men.

10. Nuri took over the Ministry of Interior himself and the Government have already taken some action to fulfil their declared aims. All the executive members of the Development Board, with the exception of the American irrigation expert, were appointed in October. These appointments had been one of the subjects of disagreement among the members of the previous Cabinet. Some small but useful reforms were initiated in the Ministry of Interior, and the Government provided money to enable the provincial governors to initiate public works in their areas under a law of 1945 which had until then remained a dead letter.

11. Nuri's political position, however, did not improve. Many of the actions of his Government were calculated to widen the breach between him and Saleh Jabr and, in spite of continuous efforts, he failed to persuade any of his traditional political opponents to join the Cabinet. On 25th December, therefore, he appointed four new members to the Government, two of whom normally support him; the Ministry of Interior still remains in Nuri's hands and Foreign Affairs remains vacant. The Government has received a small accession of political strength, but it is far from the Coalition Government which was his declared intention.

12. The personal character of Iraqi politics has been well illustrated during 1950. The struggle between individuals for power and position has appeared more nakedly than usual, with hardly an attempt at concealment behind differences on political questions. The long-standing alliance between Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr seems to have been dissolved and the latter has emerged more clearly as the main contender for the succession to Nuri's dominant position on the Iraqi's political stage. Jamil Madfai and Ali Jaudat, who are both ailing, are no longer serious competitors. Muzahim al Pachachi is too unstable, and Nasrat al Farisi too cautious, to weld the widespread dislike of Nuri into an effective opposition to him. By the organisation of the Constitutional Union Party, Nuri has put himself further than ever ahead of his older opponents. Saleh Jabr, on the other

hand, who helped to organise Nuri's party may be able eventually to oppose Nuri successfully. He can already count on considerable Shia support, but probably realises that he should delay any challenge to Nuri until he had widened the basis of his political support to include Sunni elements, since he has extended his European holiday and is not now expected to return to Iraq until well into the New Year.

External Affairs

13. During 1950 Nuri Pasha had made an interesting if so far not very successful attempt to educate his countrymen in the realities of the world situation. The attempt took the form of public lectures. In the first of these, which was delivered early in March, he pointed out Iraq's exposed position in the face of Soviet expansionism and the impossibility for small Powers of a policy of neutrality between East and West. The reaction to this lecture was small, partly because the hostilities in Korea had not then brought home to Iraqi opinion the immediate necessity of the choice and partly because the resignation of the Opposition Deputies was occupying the press at the time. The second lecture was given on 14th November. In it, Nuri Pasha stated that the first duty of any Government was the preservation of national security, and pointed out the intimate connexion which exists between foreign policy and defence plans. He gave notice of his intention to amend and revive a law of 1937 which provides for a Supreme Defence Council, and he suggested that this council could usefully discuss and answer such questions as whether Iraq's national security could be safeguarded by a policy of neutrality. Unlike the first lecture, this produced a storm of unintelligent and incoherent indignation in the Opposition press which was much assisted by the coincidence in time of the Egyptian speech from the Throne demanding the cancellation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. Nuri Pasha, like all Arab leaders is sensitive to nationalist criticism, and he judged this attack so strong that he felt it necessary, first to issue a clarifying statement on his lecture and later, on 27th November, in the course of a speech to his party, to characterise the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty as out of date and to express sympathy with Egyptian aspirations.

14. The different response accorded to these two lectures may be indicative of the impression which has been made by Communist propaganda on Iraqi opinion during

the year. Although the activities of the Iraqi Communist Party have continued to be restricted by police action, and the Stockholm Peace Appeal which was launched in Iraq in June had very little success. Communist propaganda directed towards Iraqi nationalism and exploiting the genuine discontent which exists in Iraq has undoubtedly made progress during the year. The Communist line on international questions has been more frequently followed in the Iraqi press during the last six months. The main appeal of Communist propaganda is to those young nationalists who find themselves denied opportunity under the present system. These are very numerous, while those who are satisfied are few, and many of them are cynically prepared to abandon Iraq in an emergency rather than carry through the reforms by which alone the appeal of communism can be effectively countered. Fear of war, distrust of the motives of the Western Powers, and a desire for revenge on America for her support of Israel have led an increasing number of Iraqi nationalists to advocate openly a policy of neutrality between the two world blocs.

15. The supporters of the British connexion, however, still remain numerous and powerful, though they also have been made nervous by international events and remain as frightened as ever of the accusation of being half-hearted nationalists. Thus, although the majority of our friends in Iraq, apart from doubts about French participation, genuinely welcomed the assurances contained in the Tripartite Declaration of 25th May, the Prime Minister at that time (Taufiq Sewaidi) felt it necessary to talk to the press in Cairo about "rejecting" this declaration and later to send a note to this embassy expressing Iraqi reservations on certain points in it.

16. The fears of the rulers of Iraq have led them to persistent efforts to accelerate the equipment and training of the Iraqi army. The Minister of Defence has made a number of complaints about delays in the delivery of arms and ammunition from British sources and of the inadequate number of vacancies on the British army courses allotted to Iraqis. The Iraq Government has also made an indirect bid for inclusion in the American Military Aid Programme, which was naturally unsuccessful. The visit of the Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to Iraq during October should help to encourage Iraqi confidence in the British alliance. It has already resulted in a visit

to Iraq by a team of British officers to advise on Iraqi defence. It will be interesting to see how far the Iraqi authorities will implement any suggestions which may be made by this team.

17. Although the question of Iraqi-Syrian union has steadily faded into the background during 1950, Iraq's relations with her sister Arab States have continued to be uneasy. In January, the Ayyubi Government made their ill-considered attempt to improve Iraqi-Egyptian relations by a five-year agreement not to intervene in Syrian affairs. Muzahim al Pachachi, who negotiated this agreement, completely misjudged Iraqi opinion and even that of some of his own Cabinet colleagues. The agreement was not accepted in Iraq, and the Ayyubi Cabinet resigned. The succeeding Cabinet, however, did not adopt a policy of active intervention in Syrian affairs, and even after Nuri's return to power the Iraqis remained ostensibly content to await events. Although the Syrian Prime Minister, when he visited Bagdad in November, in the course of his tour of Arab capitals, spoke to them about intervention, the Iraqis maintained that this was a pure formality since he was well aware that such representations needed to be made only in Cairo and Riyadh.

18. A more important cause of difference between Iraq and the other Arab States during the year has been Iraq's support for Jordan. Jordan's negotiations with Israel, which were going on in January and February, could not be altogether concealed from the Arab Governments, and were naturally used by those Governments hostile to Jordan as a weapon with which to attack King Abdullah. At the Arab League meeting in April the Iraqi delegate, who was under instructions to try to prevent the question being raised, felt it necessary to vote for the resolution expelling any member of the league who entered into negotiations for a separate peace with Israel. The second question which brought Jordan into conflict with the majority of the Arab League States was that of the incorporation of Eastern Palestine in Jordan. Iraqi opinion, for the most part, approved of Jordan's action, but the Iraqi delegate at the league meetings in April, May and June was placed in the difficult position of having to prevent effective action being taken against Jordan without causing Iraqi's relations with Egypt to deteriorate still further. Taufiq Sewaidi voted both for the resolution of 13th April, which declared Eastern Palestine a trust

territory, and for that of 15th May which declared Jordan's act of unification to be a violation of the former resolution. When, however, the Egyptians and Saudi Arabians persuaded the Syrians and Lebanese to join them in recommending the expulsion of Jordan, he succeeded in postponing until 12th June the council meeting to which this recommendation was to be put. The intervening period was spent by Iraq in trying to persuade Jordan and Egypt to accept some compromise formula. Jordan remained adamant, but by 13th June more temperate counsels had prevailed in Cairo, and the league (except Jordan) unanimously adopted a face-saving resolution which affirmed the necessity for a collective Arab decision on the disposal of Palestine after its complete liberation. Iraq undertook to persuade Jordan to accept this resolution, but has not succeeded in doing so, and the matter appears now to be indefinitely shelved.

19. The Arab Collective Security Pact originally proposed by Egypt in 1949, mainly as an alternative to Iraqi-Syrian union, has still not been signed, by Iraq. The Iraqi view is that unless Jordan adheres to the pact it will be useless and no purpose will be served by Iraq's signature. Moreover, Nuri Pasha insists that the proposed Defence Committee must be given a military rather than a political character. The Syrian Prime Minister did his best to persuade the Iraq Government to sign the pact, but Nuri has maintained his refusal to do so except on Iraq's conditions.

20. Iraq's attitude to a settlement with Israel remains unchanged, namely, that she will enter into no negotiations with Israel but would agree to any settlement which might be reached between Israel and the limitrophe Arab States.

Economic Affairs

21. The improvement in the Iraqi financial position which began in the latter part of 1949, was maintained during 1950. For the year ending 31st March, 1949, the combined deficit on the ordinary and capital works budgets was over 8 million dinars. For the year ending 31st March, 1950, the deficit was reduced to 2,500,000 dinars, and this was not a real deficit as the Government had in hand certain sums from the sale of tobacco, sugar and wheat which enabled them to meet it without resort to borrowing. The estimates for the year ending 31st March, 1951, which were presented by the Minister of Finance, Abdul Kerim al Uzri,

in April, showed expenditure and revenue balancing at approximately 24 million dinars, but the Minister made it clear that this balance could only be achieved by strict economy on the one hand and the introduction of certain new taxes on the other. Although it is still too early to say whether a balance will in fact be achieved, the figures for the first five months (April to August) show that revenue was coming in satisfactorily, and by November the cash position of the Government had so far improved that the new Minister of Finance, Abdul Wahab Mirjan, was able to say that it encouraged him to go ahead with a policy of Government spending. If for political reasons this policy is carried too far there is danger that the Government may again find themselves in difficulties.

22. In the early part of the year two measures affecting the Jewish business community caused a serious disturbance of the local market. The first was the Law for the Control of Banking, which had the effect of driving out of business the sarrafs or money-lenders who were almost without exception Jews, and who were regarded by many as an indispensable part of the Bagdad bazaar. The second was the introduction in March of the law (paragraph 6 above) permitting Jews to leave the country upon forfeiture of their Iraqi nationality, which was accompanied by a regulation prohibiting them taking out of the country more than 50 dinars per head. As a result of these measures the confidence of the Jewish merchants was severely shaken and there was an acute shortage of money in the bazaar which brought business virtually to a standstill for several months. The Government, however, persuaded the banks to extend their credit facilities and, in August, introduced a more liberal system of import licensing. These two steps, combined with the improvement of the Government's financial position, led to an increase of confidence and a revival of business in the later months of the year; but the earlier period of stagnation, during which there had been a big decline in the number of orders placed abroad, caused a serious depletion of stocks. Owing to this, and to the war in Korea, there was an ominous rise in the cost of most imported goods.

23. High floods in May caused some damage to crops, but the harvest was on the whole a good one. The barley crop was estimated at 800,000 tons and the wheat crop of 520,000 tons, as compared with 750,000 tons and 450,000 tons respectively

in 1949. There were also excellent crops of cotton and dates, and exports of all these commodities were well in excess of those for 1949. The total value of Iraq's visible exports in 1950 has been estimated at 20 million dinars, as compared with 12,500,000 dinars in 1949, and with reduced imports it seems possible that, for the first time since 1945 Iraq may have a surplus in her balance of payments.

24. Considerable progress was made during the year with Iraqi plans for controlling the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. In August the Dibban regulator and outlet channel from Lake Habbaniyah to the Euphrates were completed. Work continued on the Warrar inlet channel and regulator and will probably be finished in 1951. In June negotiations were completed in Washington for a loan of 12,800,000 dollars from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development to cover the external expenditure on the first stage of the Wadi Tharthar scheme, which consists of the construction of a dam on the Tigris near Samarra, 70 miles north-west of Baghdad, and the diversion of the water through an inlet channel with regulator and under-sluices to the Wadi Tharthar depression. Detailed plans for the scheme have been completed by the consulting engineers, and it is expected that the work will be put out to tender early in 1951.

25. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development also sent a mission to Iraq in November to examine certain other projects for which the Iraqis were anxious to obtain loans. These projects were the extension of Hilla Canal irrigation, the import of agricultural machinery, the construction of a grain silo at Basra and the construction of tobacco warehouses. The mission agreed to recommend to the bank that it should provide a loan of 8 million dollars to cover the external expenditure on the first three of these schemes. It also discussed with the Iraqi authorities the composition of a larger Survey Mission which the bank have been asked to send to Iraq in February 1951.

26. An important step was taken in April when a law was passed through both Houses of Parliament establishing the Development Board, to consist of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and six members who may not be either Senators, Deputies or Government officials. The board will be responsible for the preparation of a general economic and financial plan for developing the country's resources

and raising the people's standard of living. It will have an independent budget into which will be paid the Government's entire earnings from oil with other funds allocated from time to time by Parliament and foreign loans contracted by the board or by the Government on the board's behalf. The members of the board were appointed in October, and in December Sir J. W. Edington Miller took up his functions as finance member and secretary-general to the board.

27. An agreement which was negotiated with His Majesty's Government in London in August gave Iraq a scarce currency allocation for the period 1st October, 1949, to 30th September, 1950, of 20 million dollars. Negotiations for a further scarce currency agreement and also on Iraq's sterling balances took place in Bagdad in November but without final result.

28. The final arrangements for the United Kingdom £3 million loan to the Iraq State Railways were completed in June, and the money was used mostly to pay off debts owed by the railways to British firms. The loan by itself will not be sufficient to restore the railways' finances, and further assistance will be necessary. According to a preliminary estimate by Messrs. Rendel, Palmer and Triton, who were asked by the Iraq Government to advise on the present and future conduct of the railways, the deficit during the six years from 1951 to 1956 will be approximately 6 million dinars, excluding loan repayments.

29. The Iraq Government firmly maintained their refusal to allow Iraqi oil to be pumped to Haifa and, with the Iraq Petroleum Company refusing to grant any increase in the royalty rate until the Haifa line was opened, relations between the company and the Government became for a time extremely strained. In August, however, the company agreed, irrespective of whether oil went to Haifa, to raise the rate of royalty on Kirkuk oil from 4s. gold to 6s. gold converted at the official rate from 1st January, 1950. It was further agreed that the Iraq Government could, if they wished, refer to the British courts their claim that royalty should have been calculated at the free market rather than at the official price of gold.

30. Meanwhile, the company proceeded with their plans for laying the new 30-inch line from Kirkuk to Banyas on the Mediterranean seaboard. It is expected that this line will be carrying some oil by the middle of 1952, and by the end of 1953 will have

an annual throughput of approximately 13 million tons. The Basra Petroleum Company also went ahead with their plans for developing the Zubair oilfield, and hope to commence the export of oil from Fao at

the beginning of 1952. It has been estimated that the annual amount accruing to Iraq from oil royalties will increase from approximately 6 million dinars in 1950 to approximately 22 million dinars in 1954.

EQ 1571/6

No. 2

POSITION OF THE JEWS IN IRAQ

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 25th January)

(No. 59)
(Telegraphic)

Bagdad,
25th January, 1951.

The Acting Prime Minister and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed again to-day the anxiety of the Iraqi Government about the situation which would exist when the law authorising emigration expires in March leaving about 50,000 Iraqi Jews as stateless persons in Iraq. They feared that these would become a danger to the country and would themselves be in danger from the Iraqi people. They begged for our help and asserted that unless a solution were found the Iraqi Government would be compelled to drive them over the frontier to Kuwait or elsewhere.

2. I repeated that His Majesty's Government would accept no responsibility. The Iraqi Government had passed the law without consulting us. Our only concern was humanitarian. For Kuwait or Cyprus to take these people temporarily was out of the question and I understand that Jordan had refused their passage. The only solution therefore was for the Israel Government to permit an increased rate of

intake. If this was unobtainable they might be put in camps in Iraq administered by some international Jewish body. (Please see Tel Aviv telegram No. 515 of 7th November, 1950, paragraph 4.)

3. In reply to my question they said they had consulted the Americans. The United States Embassy had telegraphed to Washington more than once without response. Could not the Foreign Office take the matter up with the State Department? I undertook to inform you of what they had said. I would also discuss the matter as one of mutual interest, with United States Ambassador, but I could not be an intermediary between Iraqi Government and Mr. Crocker.

4. The Iraqis are in earnest about this. Their real fear is of a general war which would find them with a large number of stateless and disloyal persons many of them without means of support within their border. They are also genuinely afraid of a popular outburst against the Jews similar to that of May 1941.

EQ 1017/1

No. 3

OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN TRENDS IN IRAQ DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 1st February)

(No. 12. Confidential)
Sir,

Bagdad,
24th January, 1951.

I have the honour to submit some observations on certain trends in Iraq during the last three years.

1. Anglo-Iraqi Alliance

Dissatisfaction with the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 is now universal among literate Iraqis. Opponents of the British alliance would like to see it expire and not be replaced. Supporters of the alliance

are anxious for early negotiations for a new treaty. They consider the present treaty obsolete and its maintenance to be a handicap to good Anglo-Iraqi relations. They realise, however, that without a prior settlement between Great Britain and Egypt the successful conclusion of a new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty would be impossible and they probably envisage any new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty as forming part of collective defensive arrangements between Great Britain and the Arab States. Such a treaty would

certainly have to contain any concessions which Egypt had obtained as well as those already obtained by Iraq in the Portsmouth Treaty. Even in the most favourable circumstances the Iraqi sponsors of a new treaty would have to reckon with the growing strength of an emotional demand for neutrality between the two world blocs.

2. The Monarchy

The influence of the monarchy is gradually declining in Iraq, but it remains very large and is decisive over a wide field. This decline is partly due to the spread of education and the consequent increase in the power of public opinion, but mainly to the failure of the successors of King Feisal I to identify themselves with the hopes and fears of the Iraqi people. There is no Republican sentiment in Iraq, but the genuine affection in which the young King is held is more an expression of hope that he will bridge the gulf which separates governors from governed than of positive attachment to the Hashemite House. Although the popular belief that Great Britain controls Iraq through the monarchy is grotesquely exaggerated, our influence must decline to some extent as the power of the monarchy declines.

The King is an intelligent and well-mannered boy of 16. At the State funeral of his mother, which must have been a severe ordeal, he comported himself with dignity and courage, but it is impossible to judge yet whether he possesses the outstanding qualities he will need when he comes of age in May 1953.

The Regent has never been a popular figure, but he became almost popular in the summer of 1948 when he and his mother and sisters identified themselves with the war in Palestine. The politicians on whom he relies, notably Nuri Pasha, are bound to him by ties of loyalty to the Royal Hashemite House rather than by personal loyalty to the Regent himself. He is weak, and his testing time will come now that the Queen Mother is dead. He relied greatly on her guidance. There is no doubt of his desire for close and friendly relations with Great Britain, and it is certain that he has no other ambition than to hand over the monarchy to his nephew with its strength as far as possible unimpaired.

An important development is that the Regent has adopted the habit of summoning ex-Prime Ministers and some others to meet the Cabinet occasionally under the chairmanship of His Royal Highness in order to

discuss current questions of particular importance. These always seem to concern relations with other Arab States or with foreign countries. I anticipate that the time is not far distant when the leader of the Istiqlal Party will be regularly summoned to be present at such meetings. He may indeed be given an official position as Leader of the Opposition. The practice of holding these meetings has helped to restrict the Regent's power to some extent. He told me one day that it had become more difficult for him to dismiss Prime Ministers. This development, of course, involves a corresponding weakening of our own influence, although there are few people in this country who believe that we are not closely concerned with any change of Government.

3. Parliamentary

The Regent has continued to be successful in his policy of reducing the frequency of general elections. None have been held since June 1948, despite pressure from interested politicians. He has not been so successful in his efforts to find a stable government. There have been six Cabinets, and a number of reconstructions in addition, since Saleh Jabr went out in January 1948. The longest lasted for eleven months; the shortest for less than two. There is thus no improvement to record here. Nuri Pasha is again Prime Minister, for the twelfth time, but he has been unable to form a strong Cabinet. He remains the dominant personality in Iraqi political life.

The Liberal Party died with its leader in 1949. The so-called Democratic Party continues its existence mainly owing to two able members who should play a part in Iraq in the future. The Istiqlal Party has increased its influence and has become a thorn in the side of any government which does not include Istiqlal membership. But the most important development has been the formation by Nuri Pasha of a Party of Constitutional Union. His avowed purpose was to forward the establishment of a parliamentary system in Iraq, but in fact his object was to enable him to secure permanent control of Parliament. More than half the Majlis have joined the party, it being the custom in this country for politicians to gravitate to the Prime Minister in power. His party is largely composed of landowners; they are said to comprise nearly two-thirds of the Parliament, although they only form much less than one-third of the population.

It is not impossible that the development of the party system may reveal talent among the younger parliamentarians who have little chance of winning their spurs under present conditions. We have constantly advised a leavening of younger men in Iraqi Cabinets, and it is true that some younger men of promise—notably Abdul Karim al Uzri as Minister of Finance—have been revealed, but on the whole Cabinets have been confined to the “old gang” of politicians. I fear that we must reconcile ourselves to a continuance of this system. At the same time we must continue to preach the encouragement of the young. The worst of the present system is that Ministers are seldom selected on merit, and the necessity for Shia and Kurdish representation imposes further handicaps.

Although there is as yet no alternative to the dominance of the “old gang,” its ranks are becoming thinned by death and old age. Several of its surviving members seem unlikely to take office again, except perhaps at a time of crisis such as that which succeeded the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty, and which brought eleven members of the “old gang” into office. Except in this instance the proportion of younger Western-minded Ministers in Iraqi Cabinets has remained fairly constant during the past three years, but it seems certain that this proportion must soon increase considerably. These younger Ministers are unlikely to produce more stable governments than did the “old gang,” for they are rent by the same largely personal divisions, but they will bring a more Western outlook to their Ministries and a willingness to work which may affect a considerable improvement in Iraqi administration.

4. Defence

I would merely mention here that there have been some recent and satisfactory developments as regards co-operation between Middle East Land Forces and the Iraqi army, though the question of supplies of war material continues to put a strain on relations. The Regent works hard to cultivate the loyalty of the army. As long as he continues to do this successfully, the danger of a repetition of Rashid Ali's movement is remote.

5. Communism

There has been no Soviet Minister in Bagdad since May 1948. The most active secretary, who had been here for several years, was declared *persona non grata* by

the Iraq Government towards the end of 1950 and his recall demanded. Nonetheless, the legation seems to have established a rather better position for itself and the Iraqi authorities have found it difficult to establish a definite connexion between it and the illegal Communist Party. Action was taken against the latter by Nuri Pasha's Government in 1949 and five executions took place, the convictions being described as the penalty for subversive activities against the State. The Government's action had the effect of restoring law and order in Iraq which had fallen very low at the beginning of 1948 and communism has been at least quiescent ever since. There are, however, indications that Soviet propaganda is being more successful. This is partly due to the bad conditions under which most of the population is living and partly to the desire of many people to grasp at any possibility of neutrality between East and West.

This desire springs from doubts about the ability of the Western Powers to defend Iraq, from Nationalist resentment against Great Britain and the United States, which is mainly due to their attitude to Palestine, and from a growing feeling of solidarity with Asiatic countries, many of whom tend towards neutrality. Soviet propaganda has succeeded in affecting both Right-wing and Left-wing opposition elements in Iraq and it is the Right-wing Nationalists, formerly supporters of Nazi Germany, who now advocate the conclusion of non-aggression pacts both with the Atlantic Powers and with the Soviet bloc.

6. Israel

The most important event in the Middle East during the past three years was the establishment of the State of Israel. The position taken by the Iraqi Government is that they will not enter into any official relations with Israel but they would respect any settlement arrived at between Israel and the limitrophe Arab States. It would be impossible for any Iraqi Government to go further than this towards a peace settlement in the face of a public opinion which remains unaltered in its determination not to regard the failure of the Arab armies in 1948 as final. Responsible Iraqis recognise the inability of the Arabs to reconquer Israel, but they are determined to do nothing to assist Israel to establish herself firmly. They have steadfastly refused to reopen the oil pipeline to Haifa and they are most unlikely to

change this decision. The Iraqi Government have, however, occasionally, shown more realism than have the other Arab Governments, as when they cautiously supported Jordan's annexation of Eastern Palestine.

7. Iraqi Jews

Of the estimated 150,000 Jews in Iraq, nearly 90,000 have volunteered during 1950 to leave and to renounce Iraqi nationality. 23,000 have already left for Israel. The Iraqi Government are most anxious that the rate of departure should be accelerated, and have asked His Majesty's Government and the United States Government to help by bringing pressure to bear on the Israel Government. The Iraqi Government will continue to press us about this. The Israel Government have so far succeeded in limiting the rate emigration as they wish.

The effect on the commercial life of Iraq of the departure of the Jews has so far been less than was expected. Those who have left were for the most part the poorer classes; the more important Jewish merchants have remained and are carrying on their businesses in the face of considerable difficulties. Organisations such as the railways and the Basra Port, and to a lesser extent the banks, have suffered in efficiency owing to the loss of Jewish staff, but the effect has been minimised owing to the gradual way in which the policy has been implemented.

8. Relations with other Arab Countries

Iraq's relations with other Arab States have shown little change or development during the past three years. The experience of the Palestine war has probably made Iraq even more distrustful than before of her fellow members of the Arab League, but her loyalty to the league itself remains on the whole unaffected. Iraq's relations with Egypt are uneasy. Iraqis in general dislike the Egyptians and resent their dominance of the Arab League. But the influence of Egypt as the strongest and richest Arab State and as the Arabs' natural leader against "Western imperialism" is powerful among Iraqi nationalists. The use of this influence makes it difficult for Iraqi Governments to give to Jordan the support which dynastic and treaty ties lead Jordan to expect, but Iraq can be relied upon to prevent the adoption by the Arab League of extreme measures against Jordan. Until King Ibn Saud dies there can be no improvement in Iraq's relations with Saudi Arabia,

since he clings to the conviction that the Regent has ambitions to restore to his family the Throne of the Hejaz.

Union with Syria remains the object of most Iraqi politicians although the question is allowed to remain dormant for the time being for other reasons. It was a great relief to us when the Iraq army was brought back from Jordan, after handing over to the Arab Legion, in the summer of 1948. Nuri Pasha was itching to use it in Syria, and I believe that our constant pressure on him and on the Regent was the main factor in preventing him from indulging in this adventure. At present the Iraq Government are convinced that it is only a question of time before the union of the two countries comes about by the wish of the Syrian and Iraqi peoples.

9. Relations with the Iraq Petroleum Company

These have been difficult during the last two years, and present relations between the Iraq Government and the company can hardly be described as satisfactory. The Iraq Government have instituted a lawsuit in the English courts with a view to establishing whether the Iraq Petroleum Company should have paid royalties in gold at the free market rate or at the official rate. The Iraq Government are far from happy about what the Iraq Petroleum Company have done and are doing to exploit the Basra and Mosul concessions. The company would be well advised to maintain close relations with the Iraq Government and from this point of view it is a satisfactory development that it has been decided, I understand, to establish in Bagdad the headquarters of its general manager for the Middle East.

10. Social Conditions

Finally, there have been several developments of importance which may be grouped for convenience under the above heading. A Bill establishing an Iraq Development Board was passed by Parliament in 1950, and Sir Edington Miller, the nominee of His Majesty's Government, was appointed Finance Member and Secretary-General. He took over his duties in December 1950. There is also to be an American member. Mr. W. J. Hull, of the Ministry of Labour, was appointed labour expert in the Ministry of Social Affairs and took up his duties in 1950. A British subject, Mr. E. G. Hardy, was invited by the present Iraqi Prime Minister to return to Iraq and take over the

post of Director-General of Irrigation. His terms are under consideration. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development sent four missions to Iraq in 1949 and 1950. The bank decided to grant a loan for the first stage of the Wadi Tharthar scheme for controlling the Tigris, and the bank is to send a mission of sixteen experts to Iraq shortly to prepare a complete survey of the country. Since the Development Board is to have the oil royalties at its disposal it would seem that Iraq is better organised now to develop its resources and

improve the lot of its population than it has been at any time in its history. But every Iraq Government will need constant prodding.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives in Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jedda and Tel Aviv, to the Head of the British Middle East Office and to His Majesty's Consul-General in Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1023/1

No. 4

ROLE OF IRAQ IN THE PRESENT WORLD CONFLICT

Conceptions of Arab Neutrality

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 1st February)

(No. 13. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir *24th January, 1951.*

Since the Chinese intervention in Korea took place there has been considerable comment in the Iraqi press and elsewhere about Iraq's rôle in the present world conflict. In the course of this discussion it has been asserted with more and more conviction that Iraq's real place is with the other Asian countries and not with either the Western Powers or with the Soviet Union. The strongest advocates of this policy are the Opposition parties of the Right and Left, the Independence and the National Democratic Parties.

2. On 21st January the leaders of these parties sent telegrams to the Secretary-General of the Arab League in Cairo, advocating the adoption by the Political Committee of the Arab League of a policy of neutrality, which would spare the Arab peoples the horrors of a war in which they had no concern. I am enclosing copies of these messages with this despatch.

3. Arab neutrality, of course, is not itself a new idea. Two or three years ago it was advocated in Iraq on the grounds that Turkey had gained more by neutrality in the recent war than had the Arabs by their support of the Western Powers against Germany. Equally, it is not new for the Arabs to identify themselves with Asian nationalism. They sympathised with the Indonesians in their struggle against the Dutch, and there is considerable sympathy for the Viet Minh operations against the French. The support which Asian countries,

particularly India, gave to the Arab States at the United Nations over Palestine has helped the Arabs to regard themselves more and more as Asiatics, and you will recall that Taufiq Suwaidi, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies in March 1950, noted and approved the tendency of the Arab delegations to vote with the Asian countries at Lake Success. The development has been gradual and it is for this reason that the crystallisation of these ideas in the past three months is striking.

4. In the days following Mr. Truman's declaration at the end of November about the use of the atomic bomb in Korea, articles appeared in the Left-wing and nationalist press urging solidarity among the Eastern peoples to put an end to Western domination. Abdul Razzaq Dhahir (an ex-Minister of Economics), writing on 10th December, said: "The common purpose behind the present bitter struggle in Asia is to get rid of Western influence, with its attendant humiliation, poverty and exploitation from which the East has suffered for the past three centuries." He expressed the hope that the present bloody reckoning between East and West would result in the liberation of the Arabs from European-American-Zionist imperialism, in the same way as India, Pakistan and Indonesia had been liberated.

5. In the past three weeks discussion of the conception of pan-Asian neutrality has been revived. It is clear that since early December some serious thought has been given to the subject. On 11th January, the

National Democratic newspaper approved the idea of an Asiatic Third Force which, in the interest of peace, would support neither of the two world blocs. Every Eastern nation, the paper added, which was really free from foreign influence could join such a force. The Arab countries could join it if their foreign policies were genuinely based on the principles of neutrality, if foreign troops left Arab soil and if oppressive treaties were abolished. It is to be noted that the people expressing these opinions are not Communists. They do not regard the Soviet Union as a potential champion against the West and their feeling is perhaps less one of hostility to the West (except, of course, on the question of Palestine) than of resentment because they feel that the West does not take them seriously. This was clearly expressed in a leading article in the Left-wing paper *Alam al Arabi* on 20th January: "The call of the West finds no echo in our hearts. We do not understand them because we do not feel ourselves to be part of the so-called 'free world' which they say they are defending. We are part of the oppressed world which is struggling against them to achieve its freedom and throw off their yoke."

6. The causes of this kind of thinking are complex. The most important seems to be the resentment of the Arabs against the Western Powers, particularly the United States, over Palestine. The action the Americans have taken to enforce Security Council resolutions in Korea is frequently contrasted with their passivity when similar resolutions were flouted by Israel in the winter of 1948-49. Another important cause is the fact that the Chinese, an Asiatic nation, have inflicted a severe military defeat on the Western forces in Korea. This has delighted those who hate the Americans and has caused more responsible people to wonder whether the Western nations are capable of defending the Middle East from Russian aggression. There is among the Iraqis a genuine fear of war and they are horrified at the prospect of the use of the atomic bomb, particularly by Western against Asian people. They have a genuine admiration for the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru (except, of course, in Kashmir) and there are a number who believe that a third world war can be prevented if there is a sufficiently important group of States not prepared to go to war.

7. The desire for neutrality is now very strong in Iraq. Nuri Pasha is engaged in an attempt to persuade the Arab leaders in

Cairo to align themselves publicly with the Western bloc. If he is successful he may encounter difficulties on his return from Cairo. The Independence Party newspaper asked on 23rd January how Nuri as Said could proclaim a policy abroad which he was unable to sell at home. The writer went on to say that the only policy which represents the will of the Iraqi people is that of neutrality.

8. Nuri is still strong in Iraq and he may be able to impose his view of the world situation on the country, but the strong feeling that I have described is certain to make the establishment of workable arrangements for Middle East defence very much more difficult.

9. In connexion with the foregoing, there are two other points of interest. First, there have been bitter attacks in the press on the Turks for having sent troops to Korea. Turkey's indifference to the Arab case over Palestine, and particularly the fact that Turkey was the first Muslim country to recognise Israel, are the main reasons for this criticism. Secondly, the recent visit of Mr. D. N. Pritt to Bagdad, during which he was consulted by the Iraq Government in connexion with their case against the Iraq Petroleum Company, had a considerable impact upon Iraqi intellectuals. At a party given in his honour by a group of young Iraqis, Mr. Pritt is reported to have said that he was sure that there would not be a third world war because there were now too many people ready to refuse to take up arms. In particular, the Asiatic peoples were united to oppose the West, and in his view the salvation of the world lay in the growth of this Third Force. It is possible that Mr. Pritt's visit was responsible for the renewed discussion of Arab neutrality in the past three weeks. (See paragraph 5 above.)

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Tel Aviv, Washington, Ankara and Moscow, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 4

The Leader of the Independence Party, Sayid Mohammed Mahdi Kubba, has sent the following telegram to the Secretary-General of the Arab League:—

"At a time when the Big Powers are at loggerheads in furtherance of their

expansionist ambitions, from which the Arab nation has suffered every kind of crass injustice and lost a sacred and dear spot of its homeland in violation of the most elementary human rules and international justice, the policy of the Arab States must be inspired by the desires of their peoples and should follow a policy of neutrality to spare the Arab nation the horrors of war, which is none of their business. The Political Committee of the Arab League, in whose hands destiny has placed the fate of this nation, should appreciate its historical responsibilities towards its people and the coming generations."

The Leader of the National Democratic Party has sent the following telegram to the

Secretariat-General of the Arab League in Cairo:—

"At a time when the Political Committee of the Arab League is discussing the attitude of its members in the present international situation, the National Democratic Party wishes to express the desire of the Iraqi people not to see the Arab nation involved in, and aligned with, the present international blocs, which may lead to a devastating war, entailing tremendous harm to the Arab nation. It demands at the same time the adoption of complete neutrality and the avoidance of the horrors of war. In this, the Party is giving expression to the aspirations and hopes of the Iraqi people."

EQ 1019/1

No. 5

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Mr. Beeley to Mr. Bevin. (Received 10th March)

(No. 37. Confidential) Bagdad,
Sir, 7th March, 1951.

In the past few weeks the political situation in Iraq has crystallised to the extent that various groups opposed to the present Government, in theory at least, on important issues of domestic and foreign policy have begun to emerge. It is characteristic of Nuri Pasha that he begins his term of office with enthusiasm and energy and that after a few months of effort both have been consumed. This Ministry has been no exception, and the present lack of direction of public affairs is the main reason for the emergence of these Opposition groups. Few of the projected reforms enumerated in the Speech from the Throne (see Sir Henry Mack's despatch No. 256 of 6th December) have even reached the Chamber of Deputies in draft form. The plan for providing employment by executing housing, road building and other small-scale projects in the provinces has failed to achieve its object. The prices of essential commodities are rising and the poor and unemployed face further hardships. The Prime Minister's choice of Mustafa al Umari and Taufiq Suweidi, both of whom are notoriously mercenary, as his principal lieutenants has lowered the prestige of the Government. Nuri Pasha, who was formerly self-possessed in the face of criticism, has shown signs of strain in recent parliamentary attacks. He has been in poor health, but his English

doctor tells me that he has greatly benefited by the short cruise in the Persian Gulf from which he returned on 5th March, in time to receive the Regent. This seems an opportune moment to summarise the recent activities of the different Opposition groups.

2. Saleh Jabr, who returned from Europe in the middle of January, has been quietly engaged in creating the nucleus of a new political party, which will contain some of the younger progressive elements opposed to Nuri's Constitutional Union Party as well as Saleh Jabr's traditional Shi'a supporters. It is evident from the names of those who have agreed so far to join him that Saleh Jabr has been at pains to extend his influence in the north, where hitherto it has been too weak. He is at present reluctant to proceed with the formal constitution of his party, which he would regard as tantamount to an open breach with Nuri Pasha. Such a breach, he feels, would be likely to divide opinion on sectarian lines, at a time when unity is necessary to enable Iraq to face the dangers of the international situation. The principal evidence of this attitude on his part is the fact that he has so far refrained from overt criticism of the present Government's policy, although he has expressed his views in articles in the press on such subjects as the organisation of labour and the dangers of exploiting Sunni-Shi'a differences. He has also identified himself with the widespread demand for reform of

the electoral system, reported in my despatch No. 34 of 3rd March. There are reasons other than those which I have mentioned above for supposing that Saleh Jabr is in no hurry to replace Nuri Pasha. He has been giving serious thought to internal policies, and it is likely that when it does emerge his party will be mildly Socialist in character. He told me a week ago that he would aim at transforming the land system gradually without any direct attack on the large landowners. He would begin by developing large areas of State land and settling small farmers on them. This would eventually lead to a drift of cultivators from private estates to the newly-developed areas. At the same time he would impose direct taxation related to the superficial area of landed property with complete exemption for a certain area and a graduated scale thereafter. The result of this policy would be that the large landowners would find that they were paying heavy taxes for land which was becoming depopulated, and they would therefore of their own volition seek to reduce the size of their estates. In Saleh Jabr's view, such measures would provide the foundation for rapid development in Iraq, unless, of course, the process were interrupted by a war. Although this policy is commendable, even Saleh Jabr must be aware of the difficulties of carrying it out, and it may be because he has not yet devised a means of bridging the gap between promise and fulfilment that he is hesitating to come to power.

3. The Istiqlal (Independence) Party, which maintains an unmitigated hostility to the British connexion and to the Government in power for the time being, secured a political success in the Chamber of Deputies at the end of February which has temporarily at least increased its stock. Its Deputies showed in debate that the tobacco company in which Taufiq Suweidi is one of the chief shareholders had, by liquidating itself and reconstituting itself under a new name and with ostensibly different shareholders, taken advantage of a loophole in the Income-tax Law to evade tax. Taufiq Suweidi lost his temper under their sustained attack and walked out of the Chamber. The Independence Party was also the first to echo Azzam Pasha's denunciation of the recent policy of the French in Morocco which all the other political groups, including the Constitutional Union Party, have now been obliged to endorse. The Independence Party is still, however, regarded as an extreme Nationalist Party,

and it is not taken too seriously. Its political successes may only mean, therefore, that it will enjoy an increased nuisance value for a month or two.

4. The two other Opposition groups are those influenced by Ali Jaudat al Aiyubi and Muzahim al Pachachi on the one hand and by Hikmat Sulaiman on the other. The former took advantage of the reverses suffered by the United Nations forces in Korea in December last, and of the now deep-rooted resentment towards the Western Allies for the part they played in the establishment of Israel, to propagate the conception of neutrality in the world conflict. In this respect the views of this group coincided with those of the Left-wing National Democratic Party. Now that the military situation in Korea is more stable, many of those who were attracted then by the idea of neutrality consider the danger of a general war to have receded, and they are therefore able more dispassionately to appreciate what Iraq's rôle should be. The two former Prime Ministers, Muzahim al Pachachi and Ali Jaudat, who identified themselves with the policy of neutrality, have therefore probably lost some support in the past few weeks. Indeed, their own hostility to the policy of aligning Iraq and the other Arab States with the West may be due primarily to the fact that this policy is sponsored by Nuri Pasha.

5. Hikmat Sulaiman, whose ablest follower is Nasrat al Farisi, is still a force in Iraqi politics in that Prime Ministers, when forming their Cabinets, prefer to placate him rather than to antagonise him. There has emerged among his friends, who are for the most part Sunnis of the old Turkish tradition implacably hostile to Nuri Pasha, a group which is criticising the Government for failing effectively to control prices to the consumer of locally-produced food-stuffs, and which is advocating the proper taxation of land in order to finance small-scale improvements.

6. These various groups are weakening the Government by press attacks and by using their social contacts to undermine it in politically neutral circles where it has been passively supported hitherto. In spite of this, Nuri Pasha's political position is probably sufficiently strong for him to remain in office throughout the summer. Much depends, therefore, on his health and on his own inclination. If he decided to resign now, Saleh Jabr would probably be embarrassed, and there are those amongst his own supporters who would advise Nuri

that that is sufficient justification for retiring now. If Saleh Jabr were not prepared to accept office straightaway, a Government of nonentities would probably be formed to caretake until new elections, which might well be direct election, could be held in the autumn. The future will no doubt be more

clearly indicated when the Regent, who is expected back this week, has had time to take measure of the present situation.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

H. BEELEY.

EQ 1017/3

No. 6

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Sir J. Troutbeck to Mr. Morrison. (Received 21st May)

(No. 78. Confidential *Bagdad,*
Sir, *16th May, 1951.*

In my telegram No. 371 of 8th May I referred to the sustained and bitter nature of the attacks on the policy of the Iraq Government during the debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the budget estimates for 1951-52. This debate is now drawing to a close and I have the honour to describe the political situation in Iraq as it appears at present.

2. For the past few weeks there have been indications of rising tension in Iraq. To some extent this is a seasonal development; but more particularly it results from the concerted opposition of main political groups in the country to a Government which in their opinion has remained in power too long. Governments seldom last long in this country and it is now eight months since Nuri al Said became Prime Minister for the twelfth time. Although he reconstructed and broadened his Cabinet in December last the direction of affairs, through the lack of any other forceful personality in the Government, has inevitably remained almost solely in his hand. Nuri Pasha is personally unpopular throughout the country and it is not surprising that there should now be a growing demand for a change of Government. The heated attacks on the Government's policy which have continued for the past three weeks have reflected this feeling and account for the air of tension and expectancy. To a certain extent, too, of course, the present excitement is evidence of the interest and concern with which Iraqis have been following recent events in Persia and on the Syrian-Israel frontier.

3. The most bitter criticism of the present Government's policy has come, as was to be expected, from the leaders of the Istiqlal Party and those members of United Popular Front who are Deputies, while the sup-

porters of Saleh Jabr have on the whole tried to make their criticisms objective and constructive.

4. Early in the debate it became clear that on major questions of foreign policy at least the Istiqlal Party was at one with the United Popular Front. The Istiqlal leaders pointed out that they had originated the idea of neutrality in the present world conflict and they accordingly supported the aims of the United Popular Front. They also reiterated their demand for the nationalisation of the oil industry. Otherwise their arguments were on the usual lines and gave further evidence of their continuing ability, by the repetition of half-truths and blatant lies, to attribute all evils from which Iraq suffers to the British connexion.

5. Of the handful of Deputies who are associated with the United Popular Front, only Saad Omar, who was Minister of Education in the last Cabinet, has played a prominent part in the budget debate. On 23rd April in the Chamber he made allegations of corruption and abuse of authority against two members of the present Cabinet whom he declined to name. The Prime Minister at once demanded that he should substantiate his allegations. Saad Omar replied that it would take time for him to prepare his case, but it was eventually agreed that he should submit a full report by 24th May. Meanwhile he has chosen another subject for his attacks. During the past week he has been questioning the disinterestedness of the motives of the Prime Minister in releasing Ali Khalid al Hejazi, the former Director-General of Police, so soon after his sentence on a serious charge (see Sir H. Mack's despatch No. 257 of 6th December).

6. The most reasoned criticisms of the Government's policy have been made by Abdul Karim al Uzri, the Minister of Finance in the previous Cabinet and one of

the ablest of Saleh Jabr's supporters. He introduced a note of realism into the debate by drawing attention to the progress of industrialisation in Israel. In particular, he contrasted Israel's expenditure on industry of ID.70 million and ID.100 million in 1949 and 1950 respectively with the Iraq Government's hesitancy in accepting a loan of 10 million dollars from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for constructional projects. He considered that the difficulties with which Iraq was now faced called for stronger economic measures than the Government had seen fit to introduce.

7. On 5th May Nuri Pasha made two long speeches in reply to the debate, the main points of which I have already reported by telegram. The Prime Minister devoted a major part of his first speech to a defence of his Ministry's domestic policy. He attempted to show how many of the promises made in the Speech from the Throne had been fulfilled, but few can have been impressed by his account of his achievements. Some of his spectacular promises, such as the oil refinery project, have admittedly become law, but that is the easiest of the many stages on the way to fulfilment in Iraq. When he came to discuss foreign affairs, however, he was master of the situation. He exposed the basic fallacy in the doctrine of neutrality and disclosed that his Government had anticipated the needs of Iraq in the present circumstances with the result that the first shipments of modern arms and ammunition were about to arrive at Basra. He made it clear that the Government were not going to be rushed into emotional schemes for the oil industry. Opponents of the British connexion he answered by reiterating that it was his policy to amend the Treaty of 1930 and to remove the British bases from Iraqi soil. He told me afterwards that the Treaty of Portsmouth was still his conception of a satisfactory settlement.

8. Outside Parliament political life has conformed to much the same pattern as within. At the end of April the editor of the Istiqlal Party's organ remembered with a flourish that he had advocated neutrality two years ago and he praised at length the aims of the United Popular Front. The leaders of the Front are indignant that the Prime Minister has not yet replied to their appeal against the Minister of the Interior's refusal to allow them to form a party. Otherwise they have added little to political life and there are already signs of differ-

ences amongst the leaders. The formation of the United Popular Front has had one important effect; one of its most able members is Nasrat al Farisi, and the fact that Hikmat Sulaiman does not believe in the practicability of neutrality means the disruption, for the time being at least, of one of the influential political groupings in the country.

9. It is to be expected that in the present charged atmosphere there should be much speculation. Most rumours are variations on one or other of two themes—the dissolution of Parliament of a rapprochement between Saleh Jabr and Nuri Pasha. Parliament is nearing the end of its third session and so could run for another, but the demand for a reform of the electoral system which Mr. Beeley mentioned in his despatch No. 34 of 3rd March has been gathering momentum and Nuri Pasha has been obliged to undertake to discuss the question with other political leaders in the immediate future. If Parliament were dissolved now, fresh elections would take place in the autumn under the existing law. In that event either Fadhil Jamali or Ahmad Mukhtar Baban would be generally acceptable as a neutral Prime Minister charged with holding the elections; another candidate (supposed by many people to enjoy the support of this embassy) is Ali Mumtaz, but he would probably not be acceptable to Saleh Jabr and his following.

10. Saleh Jabr is the leader of the movement for electoral reforms, both because he believes that he would gain thereby and because he thinks that the position of Governments would be strengthened if they were less open to the charge of having rigged elections. He would therefore prefer to postpone the next elections until the winter, which would give time for a new electoral law to be adopted either at an extraordinary session or at the beginning of the next ordinary session of Parliament. I am informed that he has offered to participate in a reconstructed Government under Nuri Pasha if the latter will agree to carry out this programme. Attempts have been made in the past few weeks to bring the two leaders together. The Regent himself told me that he had set Fadhil Jamali to mediate between them. This effort has unfortunately coincided with a sharp newspaper attack on Saleh Jabr's sectarian tendencies undoubtedly inspired if not written by Khalil Kenna, the Minister of Education and the most rabid Sunni in Nuri's Constitutional Union Party. If they

are prepared in the present circumstances to attack Saleh Jabr personally, Nuri's supporters must still regard their own position as strong. The fact that the offending newspaper is believed to be financed by Ibn Saud adds to the indignation with which its attacks are greeted in Shia circles.

11. There is no firm indication that either of the two rumoured events will materialise, and much still depends on Nuri Pasha's health and personal inclination. He had on the whole come well out of the budget debate and he still dominates the scene. He looks well and when I saw him three days ago he gave me no hint that he intended to resign. His refusal to allow the formation

of the United Popular Front and his initial opposition to the proposals for electoral reform are generally taken to be signs of a growing lack of self-confidence, but their repercussions are not so serious as to prevent him remaining in power for as much of the summer as he wishes so long as Saleh Jabr does not actively oppose him.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Beirut, Jedda, Tehran, Tel Aviv and Washington and to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. M. TROUTBECK.

JT 1906/2

No. 7

PLANS FOR THE UNIFICATION OF IRAQ AND JORDAN

Mr. Morrison to Sir J. Troutbeck (Bagdad)

(No. 720)
(Telegraphic)

*Foreign Office,
22nd July, 1951.*

Regent asked to see Minister of State today and spoke to him about King Abdullah's plans for the unification of Iraq and Jordan on his death. He recalled the suggestion, which he had rejected, that he himself should become King of Jordan, and said that the only possibility would be a union under King Feisal. In the spring of this year Abdullah had given him a draft of a declaration announcing his intention of making Feisal his heir and the Regent had submitted this to the Iraqi Government. The latter had put forward a counter draft which apparently proposed that Feisal should ultimately succeed Abdullah and that for the next five years steps should be taken to align the two countries in such a way that they could be united on Abdullah's death. Since then the Regent did not know what had happened. Nuri Pasha had telephoned to him yesterday to ask what had become of the proposal, and the Regent had replied that he did not know but would doubtless find out on reaching Amman.

2. Regent said that he did not wish to take any action without our advice and approval. He would let us know what emerged at Amman, but the meantime would be grateful if we could pass to him any preliminary observations we might have.

3. Our preliminary view is that union of the two countries would have serious repercussions in the Middle East as a whole.

Furthermore there is a danger that our position in Jordan might be weakened if and when she came under the domination of Bagdad. For these reasons we should not favour the proposal.

4. We do not, however, wish to influence a decision one way or the other; and we are therefore instructing Sir A. Kirkbride to speak to the Regent on the following lines:—

- (i) We greatly appreciate his action in coming to us for advice.
- (ii) The future of the two kingdoms must be determined by the wishes of their Governments and peoples. We would not wish to advise a step that might not be endorsed by the great majority, nor would we wish to advise against it if union were in accordance with the general desire.
- (iii) We would, however, earnestly hope that in considering their next step the two Governments would carefully examine and take full account of all possible results not only in their own countries, but in the Middle East as a whole, of effecting a change of such importance in the structure of the Arab States as the result of the assassination of one of the Arab Rulers.

5. If, but only if, Nuri Pasha broaches the matter with you please reply on the lines of paragraph 4 above and inform him that Kirkbride will speak similarly to the Regent.

IRAQ PETROLEUM NEGOTIATIONS

Sir J. Troutbeck to Mr. Morrison. (Received 30th July)(No. 133. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, 25th July, 1951.

It will have been apparent from my telegrams on the latest phase in the negotiations between the Iraq Government and the representatives of the Iraq Petroleum Company and its associated companies that the prospects for their successful conclusion have fluctuated rather violently, a period of relatively smooth progress being followed first by a sharp set-back and then by a last-minute agreement which must, however, still be regarded as provisional. I now have the honour to offer an explanation of these fluctuations, based on information which I and my staff have obtained from members of the Council of Regency and the Cabinet.

2. The agreement between the Iraqi negotiating committee and Mr. Gibson, outlined in my telegram No. 579 of 19th July, was explained to Nuri Pasha verbally by members of the committee and by Dr. Nadim Pachachi, Director-General of the Ministry of Economics. It appears that the Prime Minister refused to be bothered with the papers, so that this verbal explanation was his only source of information. It is not unlikely that, in attempting to convince him of the merits of their work, the other Ministers put the most favourable possible construction on the agreement they had reached with the companies and glided lightly over various phrases qualifying the rights of the Government in such a way as to provide reasonable safeguards for the companies. However that may be, the English text of the proposals was not complete until the night of 18th July, so that when the Council of Ministers met on the morning of the 19th the Arabic translation was not ready. Nuri Pasha therefore gave the Ministers (and the Council of Regency who were sitting with them) an oral account of the terms proposed, and then answered a considerable number of questions. I am told that the meeting broke up in an atmosphere of satisfaction. Early in the afternoon, however, the Arabic text of the proposals was circulated, and on reading it the Ministers found that in many points it contradicted the statements made by Nuri Pasha in the morning. Several of them immediately telephoned to him, pointing out the discrepancies and virtually accusing him of having misled them. Enraged by this

situation, the Prime Minister appears to have apportioned the blame for it more or less equally upon his own negotiating committee and the representatives of the company. He began by sending for the former, and I am told that when it was all over one of them, having driven from one side of Bagdad to a friend's house on the other, was still trembling on arrival. Dr. Dhia Jafar, who was present at my interview with Nuri Pasha on the morning of the 20th (reported in my telegram No. 581 of 20th July), assured me that Nuri's anger on that occasion was no more than the last rumbling of the storm.

3. It is of interest that one of the questions put to Nuri Pasha in the Council of Ministers (by Senator Jamil Madfai) was whether Iraq would be guaranteed a certain minimum revenue even in circumstances in which it was not possible to produce oil from Iraq at all. This question was generally understood to mean: "If in the event of war the Iraq Government is driven into exile, will it be able to draw upon the oil companies for funds?" As Nuri Pasha is convinced that in the event of an early outbreak of hostilities the Iraq Government will have to evacuate the country immediately, this is a question to which he himself attaches great importance. He answered categorically that the minimum guarantee of 20 million sterling, rising to 25 million sterling in 1955, would be payable in the circumstances envisaged. The discovery that these were precisely the circumstances in which the companies would be exempt from making any such payment was one of the most serious disappointments in store for him and his colleagues.

4. The second major disappointment, for Nuri Pasha personally, was the text of the proposed exchange of letters dealing with the situation which would arise if any neighbouring country should obtain by agreement with an oil company a higher average revenue per ton of crude petroleum than Iraq. The Prime Minister has consistently, in the face of warnings from the company, asserted that he would obtain an assurance that, if Persia should obtain a higher rate per ton, the Iraqi revenue would automatically rise to the same level. This assurance the companies were naturally not prepared to give. The most they could say was that if a neighbouring country obtained

a better rate they would immediately discuss the situation with the Iraq Government.

5. As reported in my telegram No. 581, Dr. Dhia Jafar came to see me on the evening of the 20th and offered his services in an attempt to restore the situation. By that time news had reached Bagdad of the assassination of King Abdullah, and it was evident that the Prime Minister would not be able to give any further attention to the oil question for a day or two. At the same time Mr. Gibson was due to leave Bagdad early on the morning of the 23rd and the gold case was to open in London on the same day. There was thus a very narrow space of time in which something might be done. Mr. Gibson agreed at once with the suggestion that he should make contact with Dr. Dhia Jafar, and a great part of Saturday and Sunday, 21st and 22nd July, was spent in negotiations. During this period both sides kept this embassy informed of developments. At 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 22nd Dr. Dhia Jafar rang up my counsellor to say that agreement had been reached. Your department will have received from the head office of the companies in London the text of the amendments to the companies' offer which were agreed upon in the course of these discussions (please see also my Savingram No. 44 of to-day's date). The principal additional concessions made by the companies were to increase the royalty payment in the case of the Basra Petroleum Company from the equivalent of 25 per cent. to the equivalent of 33½ per cent. of oil in kind free at seaboard; to estimate the seaboard value of Basra oil at 78s. 6d. per ton instead of 73s.; and to undertake that, in circumstances in which the production of oil was impossible, the Iraq Government would nevertheless receive a minimum income of 5 million sterling per annum for two years. At the same time Mr. Gibson undertook that on ratification of the agreement the companies would make a special payment of 5 million sterling to the Government in full satisfaction of certain specified financial obligations under the existing conventions. On the conclusion of these supplementary negotiations, both parties sent telegrams to their lawyers in London instructing them to apply for the indefinite postponement of the Iraq Government's action relating to the Gold Case.

6. Dr. Dhia Jafar, who has conducted these last discussions with great energy and tenacity, claims that the members of the Government present in Bagdad are prepared

to endorse the agreement as amended. He has also told my counsellor that he will be obliged to resign if Nuri Pasha does not accept it. He does not exclude, however, the possibility that Nuri may ask for some changes of drafting, and he betrays a certain anxiety about the draft exchange of letters on the effect of possible future agreements in neighbouring countries. This now exists in two alternative forms, approved by Mr. Gibson before he left. In one of these the Iraqi claim is asserted more precisely and the companies' reply is consequently less positive; but the effect of both is that discussions would take place at once if Iraq's average revenue per ton were exceeded under any agreement reached in Persia or another Middle Eastern country.

7. We must now await Nuri Pasha's return from Amman and his reaction to the revised proposals. After the ups and downs of last week I hesitate to prophesy what it will be. But the Prime Minister will presumably be influenced by the fact that his policy will appear remarkably incoherent if, after the gold case has been suspended, no settlement is reached.

8. In conclusion, I should like to say how impressed I have been by the clarity of purpose and flexibility of handling which Mr. Gibson has shown in these negotiations. He has, indeed, had to negotiate in circumstances of great difficulty. During the entire series of talks in May-June he found it difficult to get proper attention from the Iraqi authorities who were all absorbed in their parliamentary duties and were then in any case reluctant to conclude any agreement until the Persian situation had become clearer. When he returned this month he was given a preliminary interview by Nuri Pasha, who then entrusted the discussion to the negotiating committee. Eventually agreement with them was reached, only to be immediately upset by Nuri in a tempest of fury. Even when all allowances are made for the temperamental idiosyncrasies of the great, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Nuri Pasha's treatment of the delegation was outrageous. He may have had legitimate grievances against the companies in the past, but that cannot excuse his recent handling of the question.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington and Tehran and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. M. TROUTBECK

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE REGENT OF IRAQ

Relationship between Iraq and Jordan

Mr. Morrison to Sir J. Troutbeck (Bagdad)

(No. 168. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, 14th August, 1951.

Before the luncheon which I gave in his honour to-day, I had a private talk with the Regent of Iraq. We both expressed satisfaction that agreement between the Iraqi Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company had been reached on the oil question.

2. After we had expressed our sorrow about the assassination of King Abdullah of Jordan, the Regent spoke to me very earnestly about the relationship between Iraq and Jordan. He recalled that towards the end of his life King Abdullah had informed the Regent that unhappily he had little faith in the ability of either of his two sons as possible successors to the Throne of Jordan. He had, however, had great faith in the integrity and ability of the Regent of Iraq; and King Abdullah had said that he was anxious that there should be a common monarchy for both countries, and that the Regent of Iraq should be that monarch. I gathered that it was intended that certain services should be fused over a period, and that the question of actual amalgamation of the two countries would become ripe for consideration in five years or so. His Royal Highness told me that he had respectfully declined the suggestion that he should become King, for he had no such ambition. Moreover, his Regency was temporary and he was only acting on behalf of King Feisal of Iraq. He therefore urged King Abdullah to make such constitutional dispositions as would lead to the young King Feisal succeeding to the common throne in due course, if and when unhappily King Abdullah died. Things had been left in this uncertain state, and he himself had been criticised by King Abdullah, through friends, for not having followed the matter up. But the Regent took the view that if a gentleman offered a gift in certain circumstances it was not appropriate for the recipient to be seen running around collecting the gift, and in any case he did not feel able to accept it in the form proffered. Unhappily King Abdullah had been assassinated before ever the agreement had been consummated, and the difficulty was obvious. I agreed that

this had resulted in a difficult situation. So far as His Majesty's Government were concerned, we were not disposed to intervene one way or the other; for whatever happened there might be controversy, and such controversy might create difficulties for us, particularly if it was believed that we had been intriguing.

3. On the other hand, the Regent, while stressing the delicacy of his position and his lack of any personal ambitions in the matter, said that, if His Majesty's Government took the line that, whatever the two parties wished to do, they would not create difficulties and that they held no strong opinions about the matter, people would interpret it as meaning that we did not wish the merger to take place. That in itself might put us into a difficult position, not free from controversy. Jordan was a small country in a not easy position, partly owing to the difficulties about the refugees and partly because it had a common frontier with Israel. If the merger took place it would mean that Iraq would have to sacrifice some of its revenues, which happily would be increased under the new oil agreement, to help Jordan economically, but that was a sacrifice which he felt that Iraq would be prepared to make in the common interest. Clearly it was the wish of the Regent that I should be sympathetic about such a possible merger. I told him that I had listened to him with the utmost interest, and that he might be sure that I would pay respectful attention to his views and keep what he had told me in mind.

4. I sought to draw His Royal Highness on the question of our relations with Egypt, including the dispute about the Suez Canal, but it was clear that he was unwilling to keep on the subject for long, and very quickly he got back to Jordan and Iraq. He seemed a little shocked at the idea that some Arab countries might be critical of the proposed merger, but he admitted that in the case of Syria she herself had ambitions.

5. I did not mention the attitude of Israel to the development he had in mind, though I did later stress the desirability of ending the state of war between Israel and the Arab States, seeing that the armistice had lasted

two years and was causing us and others a fair amount of inconvenience. Moreover, I said that the fact had to be accepted that Israel was in the Middle East to stay, and, if it should prove possible, it was desirable that there should be good relations between Israel and the Arab countries, with all of which it was our wish to be friendly. He

was not too shocked about this, but neither was he too optimistic.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Damascus, Beirut, Tel Aviv, Alexandria and to the British Middle East Office (Cairo).

I am, &c.

HERBERT MORRISON.

EQ 1017/9

No. 10

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE IRAQI AMBASSADOR

Situation in the Middle East

Mr. Eden to Mr. Beeley (Bagdad)

(No. 232. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, 30th October, 1951.

The Iraqi Ambassador called on me this morning to pay his courtesy call. His Excellency showed considerable concern at the situation in the Middle East and seemed, I thought, unduly optimistic as to what I could do about it! The Ambassador traced much of the trouble to the Arab League, which he attacked strongly, and to Azzam Pasha. He said that Iraq was continually being dragged into policies which she did not want to pursue by virtue of her membership of the Arab League. Our original idea when we started the League had been to create an instrument for the co-operation of the Arab States, but it had not worked out that way. Rather the tendency was for extremist policies to be propounded and for the wiser of the Arab States to be pushed or cajoled to carry them through.

2. The Ambassador asked me what my present intentions were about the Middle East in general, and I replied that first of all we and the Americans and the French must

be sure that we had a common policy and were agreed on methods of pursuing it. I hoped to make some progress along these lines when I saw Mr. Acheson in Paris. The French would no doubt share our views, and on this foundation we would try to build. It was essential that no one in the Middle East should think that they could play us off against the Americans or *vice versa*, as they had done so successfully in Persia.

3. His Excellency warmly concurred, and asked if he could give a message to the Prince Regent. I said he certainly could, and that I hoped the Prince Regent would be in good heart, for we were getting to work to try to build up a firm policy in the Middle East.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Cairo, Amman, Jedda, B.M.E.O., Tel Aviv, Damascus, Beirut, Tehran and Ankara.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

EY 1015/64

No. 11

IRAQ AND THE SHISHAKLI REGIME IN SYRIA

Sir J. Troutbeck to Mr. Eden. (Received 13th December, 1951)

(No. 951) *Bagdad,*
(Telegraphic) 13th December, 1951.

Damascus telegram No. 389: Syria.

To-morrow being Friday, I informed the Iraqi Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of this recommendation this morning. He expressed grave disquiet particularly on the

ground of the precedent that the proposed action would create. He feared that if Shishakli found he could get away with things so easily, army officers in other Arab States would be tempted to follow his example. The greatest danger was, he thought, in Jordan, but in Iraq too there

were ambitious officers, despite all the efforts he had long been making to keep the army out of politics. He was convinced that His Majesty's Government, whose interest in the stability of the Middle East was as great as Iraq's, would make a serious mistake if they were now to open normal relations with this military adventurer who had just put mem-

bers of the legitimate Government in prison and overthrown the legal President.

2. His Excellency was quite unshaken by the explanation I gave to be the reasons for our contemplated action. I finally promised to report his views to you immediately, but expressed some doubt whether they would reach you in time to influence your decision.

EQ 1052/34

No. 12

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE REGENT OF IRAQ

(1) Egypt ; (2) Transjordan ; (3) Syria ; (4) Iraq

Mr. Eden to Sir J. Troutbeck (Bagdad)

(No. 263. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, 14th December, 1951.

At his request I called on the Regent of Iraq this morning, and he said he had four topics he wished to mention.

2. First, Egypt. I gave His Royal Highness an account of how matters stood. His Royal Highness had asked how long Egypt's refusal was going to hold up plans for the Middle East Command. Was it not possible to go ahead with others? I said I thought that so far as Iraq was concerned progress was, in fact, being made, and that preparations both in equipment and in organisation of Iraq's forces had been going ahead. The Regent said this was so, but that Iraq was anxious to secure certain armaments from the United States, which he quite understood we were not in a position to provide. He thought it reasonable to ask that Iraq should be placed by the Americans on the same footing as Turkey. I said that, so far as economic help was concerned, the Americans had recently sent out a new Ambassador-at-Large, Mr. Edwin Locke. The Arab refugee problem was one of those with which Mr. Locke had been instructed to help. I was much impressed by him, and hoped that His Royal Highness would be able to see him in Iraq, and give him all the help he could. (See my despatch to Middle East Posts of 18th December, No. 264 to you.) The Regent said he would be very glad to see him.

3. The Regent next raised the position in Transjordan. He said that he was afraid that King Talal was too suspicious of others, and was very liable to change his mind. I said this was hardly unusual in a young ruler. The Regent then gave me some account of the family estates in Egypt, and

the question of appointing a successor to King Abdullah to look after them. He maintained that King Talal had asked him to do this, and then had later nominated himself. The Regent expressed his hope that Mr. Furlonge would be able to establish close and friendly relations with King Talal, and to persuade him of the friendly intentions of the Regent also. I said that I had heard that King Talal had recently been staying with King Ibn Saud, and that he had been well during the visit. The Prince Regent did not, however, appear willing to be shaken in his pessimistic view, and said that if King Talal was not able to fulfil his task the family would have to consider what could be done about him. I made no comment.

4. The Regent next raised Syria, and said that the view in Iraq was that the French had encouraged the recent *coup d'État* by Colonel Shishakli. Nuri Pasha had wisely called an all-party meeting in Iraq to consider the situation, and the unanimous view there was that Iraq should not recognise. I said this was, of course, entirely a matter for Iraq to decide. We had been in discussion with Turkey, France and the United States, and I understood that we had all agreed that recognition could no longer be withheld. His Royal Highness said that the Turkish Ambassador here had shown some concern at the new Syrian régime, which was in fact a military dictatorship. I said I understood, however, that Turkey shared our view about recognition. His Royal Highness said that in 1941 by our intervention we had been able to stop the development of a similar form of military rule in Iraq. He feared it might become a continuing experience in Syria.

5. Finally, the Prince Regent said that he thought it might be useful if when he got back to Bagdad he could arrange meetings between you and some of the Opposition leaders. He thought they might be shy of meeting you direct. On the other hand, he thought it desirable that a contact should be formed. I thanked His Royal Highness, and asked how Nuri Pasha would view any-

thing of that kind. He said he was sure Nuri would welcome it.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Ankara, Cairo, Damascus, Paris and Washington, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

EQ 1012/1

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

No. 13

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN IRAQ

Sir J. Troutbeck to Mr. Morrison. (Received 23rd July)

(No. 125. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, 18th July, 1951.

With reference to Sir Henry Mack's despatch No. 154 of 1st July, I have the honour to transmit herein a report on Leading Personalities of Iraq as at 1st July, 1951.

I have, &c.

J. M. TROUTBECK.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Iraq

ROYAL FAMILY

1. King Faisal II.
2. Abdul Ilah, His Royal Highness the Amir.
3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir.
4. Hussein Nasir.

OTHER PERSONALITIES

1. Abbas Mahdi.
2. Abdul Amir al Uzri.
3. Abdul Fettah Ibrahim.
4. Abdul Hadi Chalabi.
5. Abdul Hadi Dhahir.
6. Abdul Hadi Pachachi.
7. Abdul Ilah Hafidh.
8. Abdul Jabbar Chalabi.
9. Abdul Karim al Uzri.
10. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid).
11. Abdul Majid Mahmud.
12. Abdul Qadir Gailani.
13. Abdul Rahman Jaudat.
14. Abdul Razzaq al Dhahir.
15. Abdul Wahhab Mahmud.
16. Abdul Wahhab Murjan.
17. Abdul Wahid al Haj Sikkar (Sheikh).
18. Abdullah Damluji.
19. Abdullah Qassab.
20. Ahmad al Ajil.
21. Ahmad, Sheikh of Barzan.
22. Ahmad Mukhtar Baban.
23. Ahmad al Rawi.
24. Akram Mushtaq.
25. Ali Haidar Sulaiman.
26. Ali Jawdat al'Ayyubi.
27. Ali Khalid al Hejazi, C.B.E.
28. Ali Mahmud Sheikh Ali.
29. Ali Mumtaz al Daftari.
30. Ali al Sharqi.
31. Alwan Hussein, C.B.E.
32. Arshad al Umari, K.B.E.
33. Asim al Naqib, Sayid.
34. Ata Amin.
35. Aziz Sherif (Abdul Aziz bin Sherif bin Abdul Majid).
36. Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud.
37. Babekr Agha I Selim.

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38. Baha Ud Din Nuri.
39. Darwish al Haidari.
40. Daud al Haidari.
41. Dhia Ja'far.
42. Fadhil Jamali.
43. Faiq Samarra.
44. Ghazi Daghestani.
45. Hamid al Naqib.
46. Hashim Jawad.
47. Hassan Sami Tatar.
48. Hassan al Talabani.
49. Hazim Shemdin Agha.
50. Hikmat Sulaiman.
51. Hussain Fauzi.
52. Hussain Jamil.
53. Ibrahim Akif al Alusi.
54. Ibrahim Saleh al Kabir.
55. Ismail Namiq, K.B.E.
56. Ismail Safwat.
57. Ja'far Hamandi.
58. Jalal Baban.
59. Jamal Baban.
60. Jamal Umar Nadhmi.
61. Jamil Abdul Wahhab.
62. Jamil Madfai.
63. Jamil al Urfali.
64. Kamil Chaderchi.
65. Khalil Ismail.
66. Khalil Kanna.
67. Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul.
68. Mahmud Agha Zibari.
69. Mahmud I Sheikh Said: Sheikh.
70. Mahmud Subhi Daftari.
71. Mahrut al Hadhdhal, Sheikh.
72. Majid Mustafa.
73. Mar Shimun.
74. Maulud Mukhlis.
75. Muaffaq al Alusi.
76. Mudhaffar Ahmad.
77. Muhammad Ali Mahmud.
78. Muhammad Hassan Kubba.
79. Muhammad Hussain Hadid.
80. Muhammad Hussain al Kashif al Ghita.
81. Muhammad Mahdi Kuba.
82. Muhammad Ridha Shabibi.
83. Muhammad Said Qazzaq.
84. Muhammad al Sadr (Saiyid).
85. Muhammad Sadiq Shenshal.
86. Muhammad Salim al Radhi.
87. Mulla Mustafa.
88. Musa Shabandar.
89. Mustafa al Umari.
90. Muzahim Amin al Pachachi.
91. Nadhif Shawi.
92. Nadim Shakir al Pachachi.
93. Naji al Asil.
94. Naji Shaukat.
95. Najib al Rawi.
96. Nasrat al Farisi.
97. Nuri al Qadhi.
98. Nuri Sa'id.
99. Nuruddin Mahmud.
100. Rafail Petros Butti.

101. Rashid Ali al Gailani.
102. Rauf al Bahrani.
103. Rauf al Chadirchi.
104. Sa'ad Umar.
105. Sadiq al Bassam.
106. Said Haqqi.
107. Saleh Jabr, K.B.E.
108. Salih Saib al Jubhuri.
109. Salman Sheikh Daud.
110. Sami Fattah.
111. Sami Shawkat.
112. Shakir al Wadi, M.V.O.
113. Dr. Shawkat al Zahawi.
114. Taha al Hashemi.
115. Tahsin Qadri, K.C.V.O.
116. Tawfiq al Naib.
117. Taufiq Suweidi.
118. Tawfiq Wahbi Ma'ruf, C.B.E.
119. Umar Nadhmi.
120. Yahya Qassim.
121. Yusuf Abdullah al Gailani (Saiyid).

Leading Personalities in Iraq

The Royal Family

1. King Faisal II

Born in Bagdad on 2nd May, 1935, the son of King Ghazi and a sister of the Amir Abdul Ilah. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father on 3rd April, 1939.

During the Rashid Ali rebellion in May 1941 he and his mother were at first confined at Qasr Zuhur on the outskirts of Bagdad but were removed to the summer palace at Pir Mum just before the collapse and flight of the rebel Government.

The King spent his summer holidays in Egypt in 1943 and 1944 and in England in 1946, where he attended the Victory Celebrations and was the guest of the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace.

His early education was directed by an English governess who was succeeded by an English tutor in 1946. In 1947 he went to Sandroyd Preparatory School and entered Harrow, his father's old school, in May 1949. He spent the summer holidays of 1948 and the Easter holidays of 1950 in Iraq. In 1950 he was given a notably warm welcome by the people and the opportunity was taken for him to visit a number of important provincial centres. He came to Iraq in the autumn of 1950 with his mother and returned to Harrow seven weeks after her death in December 1950.

The King has a tendency to asthma, but his health has improved during the last few years. He is intelligent and well-mannered and is said to be doing well at Harrow. He is very popular in Iraq.

2. Abdul Ilah, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born in the Hejaz in 1912, the only son of the late King Ali, ex-King of the Hejaz. He came to Bagdad with his father in 1926 after Ibn Saud had expelled the latter from the Hejaz. He was educated privately and at Victoria College, Alexandria. He became Regent on the death of his cousin King Ghazi in April 1939.

During the Cabinet crisis of January 1941 which led to the fall of Rashid Ali's Cabinet, he endeavoured to resist the Prime Minister's demands for the appointment of new Ministers, but fled to Diwaniyah to escape the threats to his life made by four army officers Salah-ud-din Sabbagh, Kamil Shabib, Fahmi Said and Mahmud Salman. Rashid Ali thereupon resigned and Taha al Hashimi succeeded him. The Regent then returned to the capital.

During the night of 1st April the four army officers already mentioned occupied Bagdad with their troops and went to the Palace to demand the resignation of Taha al Hashimi and the appointment of Rashid Ali as Prime Minister. The Regent was, however, warned in time, eluded them and took refuge in the American Legation. Thence he was smuggled to Habbaniya on 2nd April and flown to Basra. On instructions from Bagdad, the Officer Commanding, Iraq Army, at Basra attempted to arrest the Regent, who took refuge on board of one of His Majesty's ships. By now any hope of rallying support for his cause in the south had been lost. On 16th April he was flown to Jerusalem, together with Ali Jaudat and Jamil Madfai, who had meanwhile joined him at Basra. During the hostilities in May, the Regent remained in Palestine. He returned to Bagdad on 1st June, after the collapse of Rashid Ali's régime and was welcomed by a large gathering of officials, notables and well-wishers.

In November 1943 he was declared Heir to the Throne under the provisions of an amendment to the Organic Law passed in October.

In December 1943 the Regent paid an extensive visit to the United Kingdom at the invitation of His Majesty's Government. For three days he was a guest of Their Majesties the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. During 1944 the Regent toured extensively within the country and paid particular attention to the army manoeuvres which he constantly attended. In June he visited Alexandria, returning early in July, and in September he again visited Transjordan and Egypt. He paid a second brief visit to Transjordan in February 1945.

In May 1945 he left on an official visit to the United States, returning via Canada and Great Britain. In London he was twice received by the King, met the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet and attended the Victory Thanksgiving Service. He also visited the occupied area of Germany. He returned via France and Italy, whence he proceeded on an official visit to the President of the Turkish Republic before returning to Iraq in September.

The Regent visited London in the summer of both 1946 and 1947. In 1946 he attended the Victory Celebrations on 8th June, and in 1947 he paid official visits to France and Belgium as well as to London. He and Nuri Pasha held informal discussions with the Foreign Office in September 1947 about the Iraq Government's desire to replace the 1930 Treaty. He was therefore to some extent committed personally to the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty and was placed in a difficult position by the demonstrations against it in Bagdad in January 1948. He did not extricate himself from this position with undiminished credit.

In 1948 he took a personal part in the unsuccessful attempts to unify the war effort of the Arab States against Israel and paid a number of visits to the Iraq Army in Palestine. He paid a State Visit to the Shah of Persia in June 1949 and visited England later in the summer.

He again visited England in the summer of 1950 when his sister became seriously ill and had to enter hospital. He returned to England in the autumn to arrange for the Queen Mother's journey to Iraq. In the last few months of the year he was pre-occupied with his sister's declining health. Shortly before her death he flew with his mother and sisters to the Hejaz where they visited Mecca. He returned to Iraq the same day. He accompanied the King to England in February 1951 and returned after six weeks. He again left the country at the end of May for a short visit to Amman.

The Regent is an intelligent man with an excellent memory. He has a shy charm of manner and his natural judgment is good. But his will is abnormally weak and he can seldom withstand either his own

passions or the pressure of others. He tries to take his duties seriously and he is genuinely anxious to hand over the monarchy unimpaired in strength and reputation to his nephew the King, but he is easily discouraged or intimidated. He is much influenced by his mother.

He is basically uninterested in affairs of State and does not identify himself with the progress and aspirations of his people, whose interests he seems to regard as distinct from those of the Royal Family. He feels more at home with Englishmen than with Iraqis and his recreations are those of the English. He maintains a large racing stable, supports a pack of hounds and breeds pheasants and spaniels. He is irresponsibly extravagant, and in 1945 spent over \$200,000 in the United States on jewellery. He is also believed to have invested heavily, at the cost of grave indebtedness, in speculative industrial enterprises in Bagdad.

His Regency has been a troubled one and he has twice been forced to flee from Bagdad. These experiences have impelled him to make a real effort to obtain the personal loyalty of the Army, in which he has had some limited success. But these experiences have also implanted in him a deep distrust of his people and a determination to keep in his own hands as much power and patronage as possible. His fears cause him to interfere in details of Government policy and administration, particularly in the appointments of officials and the choice of Government candidates for Parliament. He will never allow a Prime Minister a completely free hand in the selection of his Ministers. At the same time his indolence makes him neglect the higher direction of policy. He seldom reads State papers unless they have direct connexion with the position of the Hashimite House.

He has twice been married. First in 1936 to the daughter of Salah-al-Din Fauzi Beg of Cairo, whom he divorced in 1940, and secondly to another Egyptian lady Mlle. Faiza Tarabulsi in November 1948, whom he divorced in 1950. Stories about his dissipation circulate. He speaks very good English.

He was made an Honorary Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force in September 1943, was appointed Honorary G.C.M.G. in 1942 and Honorary G.C.V.O., with the award of the Royal Victorian Collar in 1943.

3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born at Istanbul 1900, he is the youngest son of the late King Hussein of the Hejaz and a half brother to the late Kings Ali of Hejaz and Faisal I of Iraq, and to King Abdullah of Jordan. His mother was a Turk.

He was educated at Istanbul. He served with the Sharifian forces during the first world war and won the good opinion of British officers. He was appointed an Honorary G.B.E. for his services.

He came to Iraq in 1922 and was commissioned in the Iraqi cavalry. He acted as Regent for a short time during King Faisal's absence in 1924. From 1925 to 1928 he studied agriculture at Oxford and from 1928 to 1931 he lived in Cyprus where his father had retired after being driven from the Hejaz by Ibn Saud.

After the death of King Hussein in 1931 the Amir Zaid was appointed Iraqi Minister at Ankara in January 1932. He was transferred to Cairo in 1934, owing to the scandal caused by the marriage of his sister to Atta Amin (q.v.), but he refused to accept this appointment. At the end of 1934 he was engaged in litigation in Athens about properties which he claimed to have inherited in Greece. He was appointed Iraqi Minister at Berlin in September 1935. In 1937 he was recalled for enquiries into allegations that he had used his position to give false certificates for arms destined for Spain. He survived the enquiry and returned to Berlin. He was withdrawn from Berlin in the spring of 1938 and remained in Iraq until the summer of 1939 when he went to live at Istanbul.

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In 1933 he had married a Turkish lady who had been divorced by her previous husband. This *mesalliance* was the main reason for his not being made Regent on the death of King Ghazi in 1939.

He came to Bagdad in October 1941 to meet the Amir Abdullah who paid a state visit to Iraq in that year. In June 1942 he returned to Turkey, which remained his home until he was appointed the first Iraqi Ambassador in London in 1946.

In 1943, 1945, 1946, 1949 and 1950 he came to Iraq to act as Regent during the absences of the Amir Abdul Ilah.

The Amir Zaid is a friendly and well-mannered man. He is a shrewd observer who takes a detached and cynical view of Iraqi and Arab politics. Although he is lazy, dislikes responsibility, and is a heavy drinker, he would probably have made a more successful Regent than his cousin Abdul Ilah. He speaks English and Turkish in addition to Arabic. His wife has had some success as an artist, having held exhibitions of her paintings in London and in Paris, but she is seldom seen in Iraq.

4. Hussein Nasir

A cousin of the King and of the Regent, with the style of "Highness."

He was educated in Istanbul during the 1914-18 war. From 1935 to 1938 he was attached to the Iraqi Legation at Ankara and later held an appointment in the Royal Palace at Bagdad. Iraqi Consul in Jerusalem from 1946 to 1948.

He is married to a daughter of King Abdullah of Jordan, whose service he entered in 1948. He was appointed Jordan Minister at Ankara in December 1948.

A good humoured, genial and friendly man without much ability or personality.

Other Personalities

1. Abbas Mahdi

Shia. Born 1898. Served in the Head Post Office, the Iraqi Legation at Tehran and the Ministry of Education. Minister of Education 1932-33. Minister of Economics and Communications in Jamil Madfai's Cabinet in 1934. Director-General of Tapu 1934. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1937. Minister of Economics and Communications 1937-38, in the Cabinets of Hikmat Sulaiman and Jamil Madfai. Appointed Principal Private Secretary at the Royal Palace in July 1941.

Minister at Tehran 1943-45. Appointed first Iraqi Minister in Moscow in 1945. Was made senator in 1949, after his final return from Moscow. He played a prominent part in opposing the policy of Nuri Said's government in the Senate in 1951.

2. Abdul Amir al Uzri

Born 1899 at Kadhimain of the well-known Shia landowning family. Brother of Abdul Karim al Uzri (q.v.). Educated Bagdad and United States. D.Sc. Michigan University. Appointed engineer in Directorate-General of Irrigation 1929 and rose to Assistant Director-General in 1941.

Minister of Communications and Works in Hamdi Pachachi's Cabinet of 1944. Minister of Supply for a month in August 1944 and then returned to Communications and Works. Appointed Director-General of Irrigation 1946. He resigned this post in November 1950 on being appointed a member of the Development Board.

3. Abdul Fattah Ibrahim

Sunni, born Bagdad 1906. Educated in Bagdad and at the American University of Beirut, where he was infected by communism. A teacher from 1934

onwards, he was appointed inspector in the Ministry of Education in 1943 but resigned in 1945 when he was transferred to Basra as Director of Education. Since then he has been director of the Rabita Press, which publishes Leftist literature, and is now losing money.

Founder of the National Unity Party (Hizb al Ittihad al Watani), he has always been sympathetic to communism, and when he was a teacher he was often reported as spreading communism among students. His name has not, however, been connected with those tried since 1947 for underground Communist activity.

4. Abdul Hadi Chalabi

Shia of Kadhmain. Born Bagdad 1895, the son of a wealthy landowner.

Deputy for Bagdad 1934 and again in 1935. Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet of Arshad al Umari 1946. Appointed Senator in June 1947 and elected First Vice-President of the Senate in February 1950.

In politics he supports Saleh Jabr and Nuri Said, but he is more interested in business. He is probably the largest corn broker in the country and many agriculturalists are heavily indebted to him. He made big profits from the export of barley at the inflated prices ruling in Greece and Italy in 1947, and was attacked in the press for obtaining more than his share of export licences through Saleh Jabr who was then Prime Minister.

Stout and unattractive in appearance, he is good company but speaks Arabic and Persian only. He is a philanthropist. His wife appears in public.

5. Abdul Hadi al Dhahir

Bagdad Shia, born about 1900, whose wealth derives mainly from property in the city of Bagdad. Interested in politics, but too rich to need to work, he twice entered Government service and twice resigned after two or three years. He has often been a Deputy and has intermittently practised as a lawyer. As Mutasarrif of Hilla from 1943 to 1944 he showed himself an experienced and honest but lazy administrator.

He has a clear mind, but though by nature affable and moderate, he has in recent years been under the influence of his more energetic and fanatic younger brother Abdul Razzaq (q.v.).

He was Minister of Economics in Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet in 1946 and is a bitter opponent of Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. He is a founder member of the United Popular Front and was elected to the Front's Political Committee in June 1951.

6. Dr. Abdul Hadi al Pachachi

Sunni. Born in 1894. Son of a former Rais Belidiya of Bagdad and cousin of Muzahim al Pachachi (q.v.). Educated in Bagdad and Istanbul, he qualified as a doctor in France and entered Government service in 1933 as director of the Isolation Hospital.

He was Minister of Social Affairs in Arshad al Umari's Cabinet from June to November 1946, was appointed Mayor of Bagdad in 1948, and Director-General in the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1949. He represented Iraq at the International Labour Organisation Conference at Geneva in June 1951.

Fat, genial and lazy, he does not play a prominent part in politics. He is married to a White Russian wife and speaks fluent French and some English.

7. Abdul Ilah Hafidh

Born about 1897 in Mosul. Son of Mohammed Ali Fadhl who was for some time a Senator. Educated in Paris where he qualified as a dentist but also took a degree in political science.

Deputy for Mosul in 1926 and again in 1935. In 1935 and again from 1938 to 1940 he held foreign service appointments at Paris, Beirut and Bombay. In 1936 he was Director-General of Commerce and in 1941 Director-General of Revenue.

Held a number of ministerial appointments from 1942 onwards under Nuri Said, Arshad al Umari and Saleh Jabr. Appointed first Governor of the National Bank in 1949.

Fair and fat with a passion for growing roses, he is friendly and co-operative, but not energetic. He speaks French and English.

8. Abdul Jabbar al Chelabi

Bagdad Shia, born about 1906. Graduated in agriculture at the University of California and in education at Columbia Teachers' College. He served first in the Ministry of Education, in which he became Director of Primary Education (and Acting Director-General) in 1943 and Chief Inspector in 1946. He left Education in 1946 to become Minister of Supply in Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet. When this Cabinet resigned he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Communications and Works. He has also been a member of Iraqi delegations to the San Francisco and other conferences.

He is a sincere nationalist but broad-minded and reasonable with a keen sense of humour. He is convinced of the need of British assistance for Iraq, and is highly respected by his many British friends, who can always rely on his co-operation. One of Iraq's few honest and competent officials, he has no illusions about his countrymen and is subject to fits of depression. He speaks English very well. His wife, who speaks some English, appears in public.

9. Abdul Karim al Uzri

Kadhmain Shia, born in 1908; brother of Abdul Amir al Uzri (q.v.). Educated in Bagdad and at the London School of Economics, he has held a number of Government appointments. Secretary to the Ministry of Education, 1932. Assistant Secretary at the Royal Palace, 1934. Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, 1936. Acting Director-General of Revenues, 1937. Director of Commerce, 1938. Resigned 1938. Director-General of Economics from 1939 until he resigned again in 1942 after being involved in a financial scandal.

Elected Deputy in 1943, and again in 1950, he is a member of the Bagdad Chamber of Commerce and of the Board of the National Bank. He joined the National Democratic Party on its foundation in 1946 but resigned about a year later. He has a profitable estate near Kadhmain and interests in a cement factory. He married into the large Rifa'i family of Najaf.

Minister of Finance under Tawfiq al Suwaidi, February 1950.

As a nationalist, he is highly critical of many aspects of British policy in Iraq; but he is western in outlook, realises the value for Iraq of the British connexion, and is friendly and co-operative. He was an able Minister of Finance. He supports Saleh Jabr. He speaks English well.

10. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid)

Shia from the lower Gharraf (Muntafik). Born about 1894 of an influential family and owns a large estate.

Deputy in the Turkish Parliament and in most Iraqi Parliaments from 1927 onwards. He was a supporter of the late Yasin Pasha al Hashemi.

Minister of Education under Rashid Ali in 1933. Minister of Economics in the Governments of Taha al Hashimi and Nuri Said in 1941 and of Communications and Works under Nuri in 1942. Senator from

1941. Again Minister of Communications and Works under Tawfiq al Suwaidi in 1950. He now strongly supports Saleh Jabr and is the main instrument of the latter's influence in the Muntafik. He is a founder member of Saleh Jabr's Popular Socialist Party.

In November 1950 he was accused of the attempted murder of Senator Khaiyun al Ubaid but was released on bail after a week in prison. The case against him was subsequently dropped.

A strong nationalist and fervent Shia, he is uneducated and xenophobic. He speaks no European language.

11. Abdul Majid Mahmud

Shia. Born about 1909. Educated in the United States where he obtained a degree in Agriculture. Director of Education in the Muntafik in the early 1930's. Superintendent (Personnel) of Public Revenues. Inspector in the Income Tax Department in 1941. Held an appointment in the Ministry of Economics in 1942. Appointed Assistant Accountant-General in 1944. A member of the Iraqi delegation to the Bretton Woods Conference in 1945. Has until recently been Director-General of the Agricultural Bank to which post he was appointed by Saleh Jabr. Visited England in 1950 in connexion with the purchase of a trawler for fishing in the Persian Gulf. Appointed Minister of Economics under Nuri Said in December 1950.

Abdul Majid Mahmud was Secretary of the Muthanna Club, most of the members of which were Western educated nationalists with leanings towards national socialism, and is a founder member of the Ba'ath Club, which contains many of the same individuals whose ideals are now those of democratic socialists. He played an active part in the Rashid Ali movement. He is a friend of Fadhl al Jamali, like whom he is rabid on the subject of Palestine.

To meet, he is a mild and friendly little man. He was a member of the Committee appointed in 1951 to negotiate with the Iraq Petroleum Company but it is doubtful whether he understands the complicated issues under discussion. His wife speaks some English.

12. Abdul Qadir Gailani

Born in Bagdad in 1904 of the family of the Naqibs of Bagdad. Elder brother of Yusuf Gailani (q.v.). Educated at Bagdad and studied at the London School of Economics. Entered the Foreign Service 1926, and served in London and Cairo, where he was in charge of the Legation several times between 1934 and 1940. Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, 1940. He was closely associated with the rebel Government of Rashid Ali and after its collapse was interned in Rhodesia and later in Iraq. Released 1944. Reappointed to Foreign Service and sent as Chargé d'Affaires to Karachi, 1948. Transferred to Cairo, 1949, but was not appointed Minister because the Regent distrusts him for the part he played in 1941. In June 1951 he was appointed Counsellor in the Iraqi Foreign Service on special duty with the Arab League.

He tries hard to be pleasant and has done his best to live down the past. Both he and his Egyptian wife speak good English.

13. Abdul Rahman Jaudat

Born about 1910. His father was Sunni and his mother Shia; he himself is considered a Shia. Educated Bagdad Law College.

Served as Qaimmaqam in Suq al Shuykh and Diwaniya. Appointed Mutasarrif in the Muntafik in 1946 and in Diwaniya in 1947. Mutasarrif of Bagdad December 1949 and appointed Director-General of the Interior in June 1951.

A competent official and co-operative in his dealings with the British. He is a protégé of Saleh Jabr. He has never served in the North of Iraq.

14. Abdul Razzaq al Dhahir

Shia of Bagdad. Born about 1903. Younger brother of Abdul Hadi Dhahir (q.v.). He has travelled in Europe and speaks English fairly well. In 1942 he was attacked by a nervous disease which affected his brain, and he spent some time in a mental home in Beirut. Joined the Istiqlal Party when it was founded in 1946, but soon left it to join the late Sa'ad Saleh's Liberal Party, of which he continued to be a member until Sa'ad's death early in 1949. Deputy for Bagdad since 1948 and has been on Iraqi delegations to several inter-Parliamentary conferences. Minister of Economics in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949. He resigned with the opposition deputies in March 1950 and is a founder member of the United Popular Front. In June 1951 he was elected to the Front's Permanent Bureau.

Abdul Razzaq and his brother are well off, having property in Bagdad and lands in Abu Ghuraib. He is a self-opinionated man with a wide range of superficial knowledge. A political opponent of Nuri Pasha. He has published a book damning tribal feudalism in Iraq and three volumes of essays inveighing against British imperialism. Like many other opponents of British policy in Iraq, he is an admirer of Britain at home.

15. Abdul Wahhab Mahmud

Sunni of Basra. Born in 1909. Educated Basra and Bagdad, where he graduated in law in 1932. As a young man he held advanced Leftist opinions. Arrested by Jamil Madfai's Government in 1938 for attempting to raise the Diwaniya tribes against them. Released by Nuri Pasha after the military demonstration which removed the Madfai Government. Deputy 1939 to 1947. Minister of Finance in Suwaidi Cabinet of 1946. Member of the Liberal Party from 1946 to 1948, when the party suspended activity. Elected President of the Bar Association in August 1950.

16. Abdul Wahhab Murjan

Born about 1910 of a rich Shia landowning family of Hilla. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he was appointed a judge about 1935 but soon resigned to practise as a lawyer.

In 1946 and 1947 he was leader in Hilla of Kamil Chaderchi's National Democratic Party but resigned in 1947 owing to his exclusion from the party's Higher Committee and to his being taken up by Saleh Jabr, who secured his election to the Chamber of Deputies in March 1947.

He was again elected Deputy for Hilla in the 1948 elections and was appointed Minister of Economics in June 1948 in Muzahim Pachachi's Government. Resigned on his election as President of the Chamber of Deputies in autumn 1948. Elected vice-President of Nuri Sa'id's Constitutional Union Party in December 1949. Became Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri Said in September 1950 and was transferred to Finance in December 1950.

He is not very intelligent, and owes most of his influence originally to Saleh Jabr's and recently to Nuri Sa'id's support. He has recently fallen foul of Saleh Jabr on two personal issues. He knows a little English.

17. Abdul Wahid al Haj Sikkar, Sheikh

Born about 1890. Chief of the Fetlah tribe of the Mishkhab in Diwaniyah liwa. Worked with Rashid Ali to overthrow Ali Jawdat's Government, 1935. Deputy, 1937. Imprisoned by Hikmet Sulaiman's

Government for fomenting tribal disturbance, 1937. Deputy, 1939. Supported Rashid Ali's rebel Government, 1941. Interned 1941 to 1944 and in residence force until 1945.

Abdul Wahid's interest in politics sprang from his desire to increase his local wealth and importance through political influence in Baghdad. The compulsory economy of his exile left him the richest tribal leader in the Middle Euphrates and his influence is still greater than that of any other Chief of the Fetlah. Since his internment he has not taken any part in Baghdad politics.

18. Abdullah al Damluji

Sunni, born in Mosul in 1895, and formerly called Abdullah Said Effendi. Studied medicine in Constantinople and served in the Turkish army, but transferred his allegiance to Ibn Saud when the latter occupied Hasa in 1913.

As Ibn Saud's Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1922 he signed the Uqair Protocol, and in 1926 took part in the negotiations in London which led to the Treaty of Jeddah in 1927. His influence with Ibn Saud afterwards waned and in 1928, after the failure of the Medina Railway Conference at Haifa, at which he was Ibn Saud's representative, he posted his resignation to Ibn Saud and came to Baghdad instead of returning to the Hejaz.

In Iraq he has been thrice Minister for Foreign Affairs (in 1930-31, 1934 and 1942), thrice Director-General of Health (1932-33, 1934-35 and 1941-42), and Master of Ceremonies at the Palace in 1937-38.

From 1942 onwards, he devoted himself mainly to business. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in 1947 and was elected Deputy for Mosul in the 1948 elections.

He was appointed Iraqi Ambassador in Tehran in February 1950. He spent most of his time in Baghdad however and eventually resigned from this post in May 1951.

He speaks English well.

19. Abdullah Qassab

Sunni of Baghdad. Born 1900, the son of an 'Alim, Abbas Amin al Fetwa. Educated Baghdad, graduated from the Law College, 1928, and entered Government Service. Qaimaqam Samarra 1936, Director of Tribal Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 1938, Mutasarrif of Diwaniya, 1941, Mosul, 1944, Director-General of the Date Monopoly, 1947.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha, 1943 and again under Arshad al Umari in 1946.

A fairly capable administrator without marked political leanings.

20. Ahmad al Ajil

Sunni Sheikh of the Shammar Jarba tribe. Younger brother of Sfuq al Ajil (q.v.), he was born about 1923 and educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and in Mosul and Baghdad.

He went to London with his father Ajil in 1937 to attend the coronation of His Majesty King George VI. After Ajil's death in 1940 Ahmad set about undermining Sfuq's position in the tribe, disputed the inheritance with him, and in 1944 was suspected of being involved in an attempt to poison him with locust bait.

He became Deputy for Mosul in 1948 and in October of that year he was recognised by the Government as paramount Sheikh of the Shammar in Iraq instead of Mish'an al Faisal who had replaced Sfuq the previous June. He is now more popular than his rivals with the tribe, but constant intrigue amongst themselves has reduced the influence of all Shammar Sheikhs.

Flashy, engaging and plausible, Ahmad is one of the very few English-speaking tribesmen.

21. Ahmad, Sheikh of Barzan

Kurdish chieftain of Barzan, at the foot of the Chia-i-Shirin. Elder brother of Mulla Mustafa (q.v.).

The Military Government established friendly relations with him in 1919 but did not exercise administrative control in his area. In 1920 he was implicated in the murder of two British officials, and in 1922 he harboured Turkish agents and unsuccessfully attacked Amadiya. On both occasions troops destroyed his Barzan headquarters. He made peace with the authorities in 1923 and was permitted to remain in Barzan.

After a successful private war against a neighbouring Baradost chieftain in 1931, he was defeated by Iraqi Government troops, assisted by the Royal Air Force, and driven across the Turkish frontier in 1932. The Turks first interned him and his brothers but surrendered him to the Iraqi Government in 1933 on condition that his life be spared. He lived in forced residence in Mosul, Hilla and Baghdad until 1935, when he was permitted to move to Sulaimaniya.

When his brother Mulla Mustafa escaped from Sulaimaniya in 1943, Sheikh Ahmad was again removed to Hilla, but was allowed to return to Barzan when a settlement was made with Mulla Mustafa in 1944. Although at this time he was overshadowed politically by Mulla Mustafa, his religious influence was so strong that Mulla Mustafa dared not oppose him openly. He became unbalanced, liquidated a number of Mullahs in the name of his own home-made religion, and finally ordered his men to attack the local Government headquarters in July 1945.

After full-scale operations, which were aided by lavish bribery, Iraqi forces defeated the Barzanis, and Sheikh Ahmad and Mulla Mustafa fled to Persia, where they were well received by the Russian authorities.

Sheikh Ahmad returned to Iraq in the spring of 1947 and surrendered with a number of his followers. He was sentenced to death, but in December 1949 the sentence was commuted to one of life imprisonment. He is in Basra gaol.

22. Ahmed Mukhtar Baban

Born about 1895. Sunni from near Khaniqin. He is not a true Baban but takes the name from a marriage connexion with the late Jamil Bey Baban of Kifri. Educated Baghdad Law School and served as a judge for many years. Director-General of Supplies, 1942. Successively Minister of Social Affairs, Communications and Works and Justice under Nuri Sa'id, 1942-44. Minister of Justice under Hamdi Pachachi 1944. Minister of Social Affairs, 1946. Head of the Royal Diwan, 1946. He visited Europe in the summer of 1951.

He has considerable influence over the Regent and his advice is not always good. His personal morals are questionable. He speaks no English.

23. Ahmad al Rawi, K.B.E.

Born about 1896, the son of a Baghdad Sunni Alim. Brother of Najib al Rawi (q.v.). Became a police officer soon after the formation of the Iraq Government and after reaching the rank of Commandant, served in several liwas as a mutasarrif. In 1939 he was made an administrative inspector and soon afterwards was placed on pension.

After the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebel Government in 1941 he was recalled by Jamil Madfai and made Director-General of Police. He held this position successfully for four years of war and co-

operated wholeheartedly with the British Forces. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for his war services in 1946.

Created Pasha by Amir Abdullah of Transjordan in 1943, he was appointed Iraqi Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1945 and to the King of Transjordan in 1946. He returned to Iraq the same year to take up the post, first of Director-General, and later (1949) of Under-Secretary, in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he represented Iraq at several meetings of the Arab League Political Committee in 1948 and was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in the latter half of 1949. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Amman in January 1951.

A supporter of Iraq's British connexion, Ahmad Pasha is an intelligent and pleasant man. More politician than administrator, he is generally well-informed but does not carry the weight that his position and connexion would lead one to expect. He used to aspire to cabinet rank, but now seems satisfied with his present career, in which he can indulge his liking for travel and talk. He speaks English well.

24. Akram Mushtaq

Sunni, born Baghdad 1903. Gazetted officer in the Iraqi army, 1927. Passed Cranwell and appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force, 1930. Captain, 1932; Major, 1937; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938; Commander of the Royal Iraqi Air Force 1937 to 1939. Relieved of his command and commission and appointed Director-General of Civil Aviation in 1939. He still holds this post. Member of the Iraqi delegation to the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago in 1944.

He is an intelligent and likeable man and speaks English well, but he is an indifferent administrator and has little influence. He took an active part in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* of 1936 and some people still hold this against him. A drug-taker, he tried to commit suicide in 1949, and was afterwards sent to Europe to be cured.

25. Ali Haidar Sulaiman

Born at Rowanduz 1905 of a well-known Kurdish family. Educated at Mosul and the American University, Beirut. He represented his university at the 1929 meeting of the International Students Union at Geneva.

Lecturer in Modern History at the Higher Teachers' Training College, 1930. Transferred to Ministry of Interior, 1933. Transferred to the Iraqi Foreign Service and served at Rome and Cairo between 1937 and 1939. He was interned after 1941 as a sympathiser with Rashid Ali (he is a brother-in-law of Yunis Sab'awi who was hanged for his part in the rebellion). Released in 1944 he became a partner of Ali Kemal in the New Baghdad scheme. In 1949 he was associated in business with Abdul Hadi Chelabi.

Deputy for Rowanduz 1948. Resigned 1950. Minister of Social Affairs under Muzahim Pachachi, 1948. Minister of Communications and Works under Ali Jawdat, 1949-50. Appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in May 1951.

He supports Muzahim Pachachi and is opposed to Nuri Pasha. A sincere and intelligent nationalist with moderate reformist views. Speaks good English. His wife appears in public, but does not know English.

26. Ali Jawdat al'Ayyubi

Sunni of humble Mosul origin, born 1886. Educated at Istanbul and commissioned in the Turkish army. In Turkish times he was a member of the

Arab Nationalist society Al Ahd al Iraqi. He fought against the British at Shuaibah but surrendered soon afterwards and was employed in 1915 to encourage Arab officer prisoners to join the Arab Revolt. Later he joined Faisal, and in 1920 was Faisal's Military Governor at Aleppo.

He returned to Iraq with King Faisal in 1921 and from then until 1923 he held various posts in the provincial administration. In 1922 he took an active part in agitation against the Mandate.

As Minister for Interior under Ja'far al Askari (1923-24) he voted for the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922. He was again a provincial Governor and later worked in the Ministry of Interior between 1924 and 1930, when he became Minister of Interior under Nuri Sa'id. He resigned from the Cabinet in September 1930 and also (in company with Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali) from the Chamber of Deputies in protest against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930.

Private Secretary to the King 1933; Prime Minister 1934, he was forced to resign by an agitation against him throughout the country organised by Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali.

President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1935. Iraqi Minister in London, August 1935; Paris, December 1936-October 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Sa'id 1939.

After the Rashid Ali *coup d'état* in April 1941 he joined the Regent at Basra and accompanied him to Jerusalem. After the collapse of the rebellion he returned to Baghdad and became Minister for Foreign Affairs under Jamil Madfai in June 1941.

Iraqi Minister at Washington 1942-48. He joined Muzahim Pachachi's Government in the reshuffle of September 1948 as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in December 1949 he succeeded, after two failures, in forming a Cabinet which resigned in February 1950.

He has always been a weak and vacillating character of small intelligence and he is now a semi-invalid. He is, however, well meaning and friendly, and he is respected for his nationalist past. He has become rich through acquiring Government land. His wife is a Syrian who speaks good English, his elder son is married to an American and his daughter is married to the son of Muzahim al Pachachi (q.v.). He himself speaks some English.

27. Ali Khalid al Hejazi, C.B.E.

Sunni, born about 1893 in Damascus. After serving in the Ottoman army he became an officer in the Kurdish gendarmerie at the end of the first world war and was awarded the B.E.M. and the M.C. for gallantry during campaigns in Kurdistan.

Appointed Inspector of Police, 1921; Assistant Commandant of Police, 1923; Commandant of Police in the Mobile Force, 1935; Commandant of Police Sulaimaniya, 1937. He was Commandant of Police Baghdad from after the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 until 1946 and did good work to stop looting after May 1941.

In 1946 he was appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services.

Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya 1947-48, he was one of the very few Arab officials to speak fluent Kurdish. Appointed Director-General of Police in May 1948, he did much to restore the police morale which had been shaken as a result of the disturbances of January 1948. A heavy drinker and a poor administrator, but tough and strict in discipline, he set about re-equipping the police, especially the mobile forces. He was loyal to the Regent and the British connexion.

In February 1950 in a fit of drunken resentment he made an abortive attempt to use his mobile forces against the Government. He was arrested and

sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was later reduced to three and a half years, and he was released in November 1950 by Nuri Said.

A courageous but stupid man who was more than normally corrupted by power, his thoughts may have been turned to the use of force by the example of the three successful Syrian *coups d'état* of 1949.

28. Ali Mahmud Sheikh Ali

Sunni, connected with the Ubaid tribe. Born Bagdad, 1902. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he practised as a lawyer from 1923 to 1936. An extreme Nationalist, he was arrested both in 1924 and 1930 for violent agitation against Anglo-Iraqi treaties. He was twice elected Deputy.

Appointed judge in the Court of Appeal in 1936 and Minister of Justice under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937. Mutasarrif of Basra, 1939; Director-General of Customs, 1940. Again Minister of Justice in Rashid Ali's rebel Cabinet, he fled to Persia after Rashid Ali's collapse but was later surrendered to the British military authorities and interned in Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq, tried and sentenced to seven years imprisonment in 1942.

Released in 1949, he now practises as a lawyer again. It was proposed by Tawfik Suweidi to appoint him to the Court of Cassation in 1950, and his influence appears to be reviving.

29. Ali Muntaz al Daftari

Born 1901. Sunni of the Daftari family of Bagdad. Educated at Bagdad Law College and entered Government service in 1920. Rose to be Director-General of Revenues by 1935, but had to leave Iraq after Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* which overthrew the Government of Yasin al Hashemi in 1936. Re-appointed Director-General of Revenues by Nuri Sa'id in 1939.

Minister of Finance under Taha al Hashemi, 1941. Director of Rafidain Bank 1941. Again Minister of Finance under Nuri Sa'id in 1941 and 1943. Minister of Communications and Works under Tawfik Suweidi in 1946. Minister of Finance under Muzahim Pachachi in 1948 and under Ali Jawdat, December 1949 to February 1950. Resigned from the Chamber of Deputies in 1950.

Appointed a Member of the Development Board in November 1950 and tendered his resignation from the Board in June 1951.

He was a member of the Liberal Party formed in 1946, but resigned in 1948. He is opposed to Saleh Jabr and generally to Nuri Pasha. He gives an impression of sincerity and ability, but when in power finds difficulty in co-operating with his Cabinet colleagues. He has been involved in at least one financial scandal.

He is married to a daughter of Yasin al Hashemi and speaks good English.

30. Ali al Sharqi

Shia from Najaf. Born about 1890. Originally a Mulla in Najaf and later Qadhi in Basra and elsewhere, he finally became Head of the Supreme Ja'afari Court. He was made a Senator in 1947 during Saleh Jabr's term of office. Minister without Portfolio in Ali Jawdat's Government of December 1949.

He is of no political importance.

31. Alwan Hussein, C.B.E.

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1899. Educated at the English Protestant School, Bagdad.

He joined the Civil Police in 1917 and did good work during the rebellion in 1920. Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mosul, in 1920. Commissioner of Police Central Criminal Investigation Department, 1924. He went to England in 1930 and attended a Senior Officers' Course at Scotland Yard. He then gradually took over the C.I.D. from the British D.I.G. Removed by Yasin al Hashemi, he returned to the C.I.D. in 1939 when Nuri Sa'id became Prime Minister. Transferred to the provinces by Rashid Ali, he again returned to the C.I.D. after the collapse of Rashid Ali's Government in 1941. Director-General of Police, 1946. He was attacked by the Opposition for the alleged undue severity of police action against the demonstrators during the riots against the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. He lost his nerve under these attacks and suffered a minor nervous breakdown. Appointed Commandant of the Police Training School, May 1948, and transferred to be Director-General of Prisons in December 1948. Re-appointed Director-General of Police in September 1950.

A pleasant, friendly and competent official without much personality. He speaks good English. He was appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services in 1946.

32. Arshad al Umari, K.B.E.

Sunni, born in 1888 of the well-known Umari family of Mosul. Educated in Turkey and employed as Municipal Engineer in Istanbul. He served on the Turkish staff in 1914-18 war.

A member of the first Iraqi Parliament, he later held several official appointments. Mayor of Bagdad from 1931 to 1933, and again from 1936 to 1944, with a short interruption in 1941 when he formed a Committee of Internal Security to conclude an armistice with the British forces after Rashid Ali's flight. He was a successful Mayor and can claim credit for much of such modernisation as Bagdad has achieved.

He represented Iraq at the Arab Unity Congress in Cairo in 1944 which resulted in the formation of the Arab League and in 1945 he led the Iraqi delegation to San Francisco. Minister of Economics and Communications under Ali Jawdat in 1934. Minister of Supply under Hamdi Pachachi in 1944. Appointed a Senator in June 1944. He was Prime Minister from June to November 1946, and aroused great opposition by his dictatorial methods. He played some part in the political intrigues which resulted in the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty and was Minister of Defence in the Government of Mohammed al Sadr which took over after the Portsmouth riots. Resigned his seat in the Senate in November 1950 on his appointment as Vice-Chairman of the Development Board.

He is president of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society and has done a good deal to improve their finances. His daughter, Mme. Muntaz al Umari, is a leading figure in the Ladies' Committee of this society.

He has an attractive personality and a capacity for hard work which is rare in an Iraqi, but his rapid changes of opinion, his obstinacy and impatience of criticism make him unfit for politics and he shows signs of realising this. He speaks Turkish and some very bad French. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for war services in 1946.

33. Asim al Naqib, Sayid

Born Bagdad 1879; the fourth son of Sayid Abdul Rahman and younger brother of Sayid Mahmud. Appointed Naqib on the latter's death in 1936. A conventional Sunni Alim, he takes no part in politics but appears as a figurehead on important Islamic occasions.

34. Ata Amin

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1898. Educated at the Bagdad Law School.

Assistant Private Secretary to King Faisal, 1921. Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service in 1925 and was appointed to the Iraqi Legation in London. Legal draftsman in the Ministry of Justice, 1927. Returned to the Foreign Service in 1928 and held appointments at Ankara, London, Rome, Paris and Berlin between 1932 and 1943. From 1940 to 1943 he was in charge of the Iraqi Legation in London. Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1943; Minister at Ankara, 1944; transferred to Paris, 1949.

He is married to a sister of the Amir Zaid. He speaks good English.

35. Aziz Sherif (Abdul Aziz bin Sherif bin Abdul Majid)

Sunni, born about 1900 in Anah. He began his career as a teacher but later attended the Bagdad Law College and graduated in 1933. At first a judge in Basra and Nasiriya, he was elected Deputy during Bekr Sidqi's régime. He then practised as a lawyer in Basra until 1941, when he was again appointed judge. He resigned his judgeship at the end of 1944 to become an advocate and politician.

His Left-wing tendencies had been known for some time, and during the war years he spread anti-Nazi propaganda with a pro-Russian and anti-British bias. Working at first with Kamil Chadirchi (q.v.), he later tried to form a more extreme society but was refused permission, largely because his associates were suspect. Many of these were employed in underground Communist activities and in the publication of secret Communist literature.

In 1945 he first published *Al Watan*, a Left-wing magazine, and in 1946 he was allowed to form the Sha'ab party with himself as first president. The party was closed in 1947 and Aziz fled to Syria. Returning to Iraq early in 1948, he was involved with the "Haqiqa" Communist Group which split from the Iraqi Communist Party.

In late 1948 action was taken against some of his associates and he fled. A warrant was issued for his arrest and his paper *Al Watan* was closed in March 1949. He is still absconding from the police and his present whereabouts are not known.

36. Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud

Kurd. Born about 1912, second son of the well-known Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.). He spent much of his childhood in Persia, when his father was engaged in various rebellions. Between 1928 and 1932 he was educated at the expense of the Iraq Government at Victoria College, Alexandria, where he was a classmate of the Regent. Later he went to Columbia University.

He was appointed to a minor post in the railways in 1938, but soon resigned. His outspoken criticism of Iraqi administration in Kurdish areas led to his arrest and exile for a few months in 1943. A repetition of the offence in 1945 narrowly missed having the same result. He is still a strong critic of the Iraq Government's handling of Kurdish problems.

Minister of Economics under Arshad al Umari in 1946 and in the succeeding Government of Nuri Pasha. Deputy for Sulaimaniya, 1947; lost his seat in 1948.

Baba Ali speaks excellent English and possesses an attractive, though not very forceful, personality. He is interested in the improvement of agriculture in Kurdistan and particularly in the growing and marketing of tobacco. Since 1948 he has spent most of his time in Sulaimaniya and has apparently withdrawn from politics for the time being. He visited America in 1950.

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37. Babekr Agha I Selim

A powerful Kurdish chief (recognised by the Iraqi Government as paramount) of the Pizhder tribe of Qal'a Diza on the Lesser Zab north of Sulaimaniya. Now an old man, he has always been friendly in his dealings with the Government, whether British or Iraqi, and he behaved well when Government administration was established in the Pizhder area in 1938.

In 1941 he was preparing to revolt against Rashid Ali's régime, and he has since often affirmed his loyalty to the British connexion. In 1947 he was operated on in the Iraq Petroleum Company hospital at Kirkuk and has since led a quiet life.

His rival for influence in the Pizhder is Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul (q.v.).

38. Baha ud Din Nuri

Kurd, born in Bagdad about 1897 of an Erbil family. His father was a well-known 'Alim. Educated in Bagdad, he joined the Turkish army in 1917 and the Iraqi army in 1921.

In 1924 he was First-Lieutenant Small Arms Instructor and in 1927 he was promoted Captain. Passed Iraqi Staff College, 1930; attended Staff College Camberley, 1935-36. On his return to Iraq he was deeply involved in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* and was thereafter appointed to Operations Branch. Dismissed from the army by Taha al Hashimi in 1938, he became Assistant Traffic Director on the Iraqi State Railways.

In autumn 1941 he rejoined the army as Major-General and was appointed Assistant C.G.S., but was retired again in 1944. He was Acting Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya in 1944 and was elected Deputy for Sulaimaniya in 1947 and 1948. Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said during 1949. Appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in May 1951.

One of the most capable Staff Officers in the Iraqi army, he suffered twice for his connexion with Bekr Sidqi. He is an intelligent man and a fairly good administrator; but in spite of a frank and engaging demeanour he is not entirely honest or reliable. He is a Freemason and a connoisseur of mystic poetry, but he is also self-seeking. As Minister he was co-operative with the British, but he was widely censured for his continued connexions with a Lebanese firm supplying the Government. He speaks Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and English well.

39. Darwish al Haidari

Born in Bagdad in 1907 of the Haidari family which originated from Erbil. Educated at the American University, Beirut, and at Texas University where he studied agriculture.

Entered Government service, 1930. Director of Rustamiya Experimental Farm, 1933 and of Abu Ghuraib Experimental Farm, 1940. Director of Grain in the Local Products Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, 1942. Transferred back to the Department of Agriculture after he had been accused of the illegal disposal of a quantity of grain.

He was on the Iraqi delegation to the Hot Springs Food Conference in 1943 and since becoming Director-General of Agriculture in 1946 he has represented Iraq at several international conferences of Food and Agricultural Organisation.

Fat and jovial in appearance, he has a strong personality and much energy, initiative and determination. He is a dictator in his department and his jealousy of any interference has made it difficult for British experts to co-operate with him. On account of his American training he is generally believed to be biased in favour of American machinery and

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ideas. A window dresser, and regarded by many as a barrier to progress.

He and his wife, who is a sister of Yusuf and Abdul Qadir Gailani (q.v.) speak good English and French.

40. Daud al Haidari

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1885. Son of a one-time Sheikh al Islam, his family is of Kurdish origin from Erbil. Once an A.D.C. to Sultan Abdul Hamid, he spent the 1914-18 war in Constantinople and came to Bagdad in 1921.

Member for Erbil in the Constituent Assembly in 1924. Minister of Justice under Tawfiq Suweidi, 1929. Deputy for Erbil, 1930-34.

Iraqi Minister in Tehran, 1941-42. Minister of Justice under Nuri Said, 1942-43. Minister in London, 1943-45. Appointed Senator in 1945. Minister of Social Affairs in Mohammed al Sadr's Cabinet, January-June 1948.

He was an intermediary when the British Oil Development Company's concession was negotiated and has since been paid a retaining fee by the Basra and Mosul Petroleum Companies, who describe him as their legal adviser, but do not in fact consult him. He resigned from the Senate under a new interpretation of the Constitution in March 1949 rather than give up this fee.

Daud Pasha is a friend of the Regent but is widely distrusted both politically and financially. He was involved in the agitation against the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948.

His two step-daughters are well known in Bagdad society. He speaks English fairly well and is well disposed towards the British, but his actions tend to be dictated by his financial embarrassments. A nice old man.

41. Dhia Ja'far

Bagdad Shia, born in 1911. He studied mechanical engineering at Birmingham University, where he obtained a B.Sc. in 1934 and a Ph.D. in 1936, and then had twenty months' training with the Great Western Railway.

Appointed Assistant Mechanical Engineer in the Iraqi State Railways in 1937, he was subsequently promoted to be Mechanical Engineer. During the war he was Director-General of Engineering Supplies.

Deputy for Bagdad in 1947. He failed in the 1948 elections, but was later returned for Kerbala in a by-election.

Minister of Communications and Works under Saleh Jabr in 1947 and of Economics under Nuri Said in 1949 and under Tawfiq Suweidi in 1950. A founder-member and member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party, December 1949. Minister of Economics under Nuri Said in September 1950. Transferred to Communications and Works in December 1950. He played a prominent part in the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1950 and 1951.

He is well educated and speaks excellent English. He was a successful Minister of Economics, and is a strong supporter of Nuri Said, having close connexions also with Saleh Jabr. He helped to save British property in 1941. The financial reputation of his family is doubtful.

He enjoys British company, but is exceptionally resentful against what he considers the unequal relationship between Britain and Iraq, and is consequently difficult to deal with officially. He may become dangerous as he is extremely ambitious. The L.P.C. regard him as the main obstacle to an agreement on oil problems.

His wife, who is related to the Agha Khan, looks as though she would be more at home in Beirut than in Bagdad. She speaks some English.

42. Fadhil Jamali

Shia of Kadhimain, born 1902. Educated American University, Beirut, 1921-27, and Columbia University 1927-29. Joined the Ministry of Education, 1929. Director-General of Instruction, 1933; Inspector-General of the Ministry, 1937. He visited Germany in 1937 and made arrangements for an Iraqi party to attend the Nuremburg Rally of 1938. Visited England in 1938 at the invitation of the British Council.

He was a founder member of the Muthanna Club, whose members were mostly Western educated nationalists, and whose political thinking was much influenced by national socialism. He strongly resisted British influence in the Ministry of Education and it was British influence which caused his transfer from that Ministry to a position in the Iraqi Embassy in Washington in January 1943. He did not take up this appointment, but became Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1944. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

Foreign Minister from June 1946 to January 1948 in the successive Cabinets of Arshad al Umari, Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. During this time he attended the Palestine Conference in London in 1946 and the United Nations General Assembly in 1947. He was out of politics for a time after the failure of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948, but was given a sinecure in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs later in the same year and was appointed Iraqi Minister in Cairo in February 1949. He was recalled almost immediately to become Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Pasha in March 1949. He resigned after six months under a constitutional rule, since he had no seat in Parliament, and was appointed Permanent Iraqi delegate to the United Nations Organisation. He was elected Deputy for Diwaniya in the by-elections of June 1950 and became President of the Chamber of Deputies in December 1950.

Jamali is a self-made man, and is one of the first of the type to reach a prominent position. Although he is ambitious, he is unlikely to become a powerful influence in the country, having little political support in his own right.

Jamali is intelligent, energetic and honest, but he is also vain and emotionally unstable. The xenophobic nationalism of his younger days has been greatly modified by his extensive contacts with the West and by a genuine conviction of the necessity for Iraq of the British connexion. But he will never forgive the British policy in Palestine and the Shia fanatic is not far below the surface. He is interested in Western literature and likes Western music.

He is married to a Canadian and has a large circle of British and American friends.

43. Faiq Samarrai

Sunni, born at Basra about 1904. Educated Bagdad Law College, 1928-32. Appointed a secretary in the Ministry of Justice, 1933; transferred to Tapu Department 1934; Superintendent of Labour, Ministry of Interior, 1935, and attended a Labour Conference at Geneva in 1936. After a further period in the Ministry of Justice, he became Director-General of Press and Propaganda in 1939. After a short period of service in the police and at the Ministry of Social Affairs, he became Director-General of Municipalities in 1940.

An extreme anti-foreign nationalist since his student days, he served a short sentence in 1930 for his part in the demonstrations against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. He was an active supporter of Rashid Ali and was interned from 1941 to 1945 at Fao, where he caused much trouble to the authorities. He was a founder member of the Istiqlal Party in 1946, Secretary-General in 1947 and vice-president 1948

1949 and 1950. Deputy for Samarra 1948, he resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950, but was again elected in the by-elections of June 1950. In 1949 and early 1950 he travelled in Syria and Lebanon for his party to make propaganda for Iraqi-Syrian union.

A grossly fat and unhealthy looking individual with a bad moral reputation, he is nevertheless intelligent, and a persuasive talker. His nationalist views are sincerely held, but are probably subject to modification if it suited his personal ambition. His attitude to Great Britain became slightly less hostile during 1949, possibly owing to the influence of Nuri Pasha who was in that year attempting to split the Istiqlal Party. He is not altogether trusted by his party colleagues. He speaks English.

44. Ghazi Daghestani

Sunni, born in Bagdad in 1910. Son of Muhammad Pasha Daghestani and brother of the wives of Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.) and Najib al Rawi (q.v.).

Attended the Royal Military College, Woolwich, and the Staff Colleges at Quetta and Bagdad. He is at present Director of Military Works. He quarrelled violently with the Regent over the despatch of Iraqi troops to Palestine in 1948 but his family influence and his strength of character have enabled him to retain his position in the Army and in society.

An intelligent, high-principled aristocrat and an able officer, he might well take a prominent part in politics in the future.

He and his attractive wife speak excellent English and French, in addition to Turkish and Arabic.

45. Hamid al Naqib

Sunni of Basra, born about 1890. His brother, the late Sayid Talib Pasha, was strong enough to defy the Turks in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, and was arrested and exiled in 1920 owing to his opposition to King Faisal's coming to Iraq.

Since Sayid Talib's death Sayid Hamid has been the head of the most influential Basra family. He was Deputy from 1930 to 1947, when he was made a Senator.

He is travelled and pleasant, but ponderous. He supports Nuri Said and complains that the Government neglect Basra interests. He speaks some English.

46. Hashim Jawad

Sunni, born Bagdad 1911, the son of a small official. He was educated at the American University, Beirut, and at London University, from which he graduated in Economics in 1936.

He was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Council of Ministers in 1936, joined the Iraqi foreign service in 1938 and was sent as Iraqi representative to the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. He returned to Iraq in 1941 and in 1942 became the first Acting Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs. He also acted as Secretary to a committee for the organisation of post-war affairs in Iraq. In his capacity of Director-General of Labour, he took part in the settlement of the Iraq Petroleum Company strike at Kirkuk in 1946. Later in the same year he was removed from his post by Arshad al Umari who regarded him as a fellow-traveller. In 1947 he was appointed to a position in the I.L.O. and has only paid short visits to Iraq since then.

A quiet and studious man with a clear head and a genuine interest in labour questions, he found the conditions in the Ministry of Social Affairs extremely

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frustrating and is therefore unlikely to return permanently to Iraq. He is married to a Swiss and speaks excellent English.

47. Hassan Sami Tatar

Turcoman of Kirkuk, born about 1899. His education at the Constantinople Law School was interrupted by the first world war, in which he was taken prisoner by the British forces in Mesopotamia and spent two years in a prisoner-of-war camp in India.

Returning to Iraq after the armistice, he entered the newly founded Bagdad Law College and passed out at the head of the first batch of graduates. He was immediately appointed a judge in Bagdad and thereafter served in the Ministry of Justice and on the Court of Cassation until in February 1950 he became Minister of Justice under Tawfiq al Suweidi. Minister of Justice again under Nuri Said in September 1950. Elected Deputy for Khanaqin in February 1951.

He is a quiet man with no particular political affiliations. He speaks Arabic and Turkish.

48. Hassan al Talabani

Kurd, born about 1911 of a well-known family of Kirkuk. His ancestors were heads of a Sufi brotherhood. He graduated from the Bagdad Law College in 1934 and joined the Ministry of Interior in 1935. He served as Qaimmaqam in various Kurdish districts and at Mandali. Appointed Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya early in 1947, transferred to Erbil later in the year, to Hilla in 1948, to Baquba early in 1950 and Dulaim in October 1950.

He visited Europe and England in the summer of 1949.

He is intelligent, honest and capable. He is not a strong character, but as an administrator he makes up in some measure for his lack of strength by persistence and a good sense of diplomacy. He has not yet entered politics but will probably do so eventually. He is well liked by Saleh Jabr and Arshad al Umari. Personally he is good company. He speaks Kurdish and Arabic, some Turkish and some English.

49. Hazim Shemdin Agha

Kurdish chief of the Sharifan tribe of Zakho and son of Yusuf Pasha. Born about 1895. One of the largest landowners of the Zakho district, he is a progressive farmer.

A Deputy from 1925 to 1929 and again from 1938 to 1947, when he was appointed a Senator, he became Minister without Portfolio under Tawfiq Suweidi in February 1950.

Popular and influential in Zakho and well respected throughout Iraq, he is a rich man who has never taken an active part in politics. He was appointed Minister only to fill up the number of Kurds in the Cabinet. He speaks Arabic and Turkish and some English.

50. Hikmat Sulaiman

Sunni, born 1886. A member of the Committee of Union and Progress, he was Director of Education and Assistant Governor of Bagdad under the Turks, and was in Constantinople when the British forces occupied Bagdad in 1917.

Returning to Iraq in 1921 he became Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in 1923 and was Minister of Interior under Abdul Muhsin Sa'dun (1925-26) and again under Rashid Ali Gailani in 1933. He visited Turkey in 1935 and was much impressed with modern Turkish methods.

In 1936 he joined Bekr Sidqi in the *coup d'état* which over-threw Yasin al Hashimi's Government, and became Prime Minister. He resigned in 1937

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after the murder of Bekr Sidqi. As Prime Minister he disappointed expectations.

Although apparently reconciled with Nuri Said in 1938, he was arrested and tried by court martial for treason under the latter's premiership in 1939. The death sentence passed on him was commuted to five years' imprisonment, and he was interned in Sulaimaniya. Released by Rashid Ali in April 1941, he was in Persia during Rashid Ali's rebellion.

When he returned to Iraq he devoted himself to farming and prospered. Unpopular with the Regent and Nuri Said, he took little part in politics until 1947, when he was involved in the intrigues which culminated in the fall of Saleh Jabr and the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. Since then he has often been reported to be making contact with discontented army officers and people of the Left, and is generally regarded as the "dark horse" of Iraqi politics; but this impression is probably coloured by his history and is an exaggeration of his present influence. He had a heart attack in 1949 and is unlikely to play any great political part again. He shows considerable friendship to His Majesty's Embassy despite his inability to converse in any language but Turkish and Arabic.

His wife, a Daghestani, is a sister of the wife of Najib al Rawi (q.v.). She also is friendly but speaks Turkish only.

51. Hussain Fauzi

Sunni of Kurdish origin, born in Bagdad 1889. Educated Military Academy, Istanbul, and commissioned in the Turkish army in 1909.

He joined the Iraqi army in May 1922. He has passed the Senior Officers' Course at Belgaum, India, and has twice been attached to units in England for training. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1929 and Colonel in 1933. Commandant of the Staff College, Bagdad, 1934. In 1935 he was given the command of the Northern District. Promoted Brigadier 1935 and G.O.C. 1st Infantry Division 1936. He was appointed Chief of the General Staff in August 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi. He took no part in the Bekr Sidqi coup of October 1936, but he assisted Taha al Hashimi to organise the military demonstration in favour of Nuri Said in December 1938. Placed on pension in February 1940 for interference in politics.

Although he has been a member of the Central Committee of the National Democratic Party since its inauguration in 1946 he is not prominent in political or social life. He speaks good English.

52. Hussain Jamil

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1906. A member of the Jamil family which has marriage connexions with the Suweidis. His father was a judge. Educated at Bagdad and graduated from the Law College in 1930.

From 1933 to 1946 he served as a judge in a number of provinces including Diyala, Diwaniya, Hilla and Bagdad.

He resigned from the Public Service in 1946 in order to become a founder member of the National Democratic Party; he went into private practice as a lawyer and acted as defence counsel in a number of cases concerned with political offences.

Deputy for Bagdad, 1948. He resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950. Minister of Justice in Ali Jawdat's Cabinet of December 1949 to February 1950.

Hussain is a convinced Democrat and a sincere reformer who is generally respected. He is a poor man and free from suspicion of corruption. He is less intransigent than most of the opposition leaders and is not always in agreement with the leader of his party. He speaks some English and his wife, who appears in mixed society, is fairly fluent.

53. Ibrahim Akif al Alusi

Sunni, born Bagdad, 1894. Graduated from Istanbul Medical College in 1916 and served in Iraq under the Turks.

He later joined the Iraqi Health Service and rose to be Director-General of Public Health in 1939. He was also Secretary-General of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society for some time.

Minister of Education under Hamdi Pachachi, 1944-45. Appointed Director-General of Social Affairs in 1946; Minister in Damascus, December 1948; Minister in Ankara, February 1950.

As Minister of Education he was incompetent and prejudiced, and it is generally considered that he was not a success in Damascus. Superficially friendly, he is a born intriguer.

54. Ibrahim Saleh al Kabir

Bagdad Jew, born 1885. Educated at the Alliance School in Bagdad, he entered business in the office of a Jewish merchant who later made him his partner.

Appointed to the Accounts Department of the Ministry of Finance in the early days of the Mandatory Government, he rose by gradual promotion to be Accountant-General, and finally in 1946, Director-General of the Ministry.

In 1946 he gave evidence before the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry on Palestine. In 1947 he was chief Iraqi negotiator in the sterling balance talks and earned the respect of the British delegation, and in 1948 he took part in the discussions for the taking over of the Iraq Currency Board. He retired in autumn 1948 and has since lived quietly, spending much of his time in England. He was appointed Honorary O.B.E. in 1946 for war services.

He was a sound civil servant, cautious and trustworthy, highly respected but never very popular. His brothers, Selman and Yusuf, are prominent Bagdad lawyers. If the Jewish community continues to exist in Iraq, Ibrahim and his brothers will probably remain.

55. Ismail Namiq, K.B.E.

Sunni, born 1892, the son of an army officer of Mosul origin. Educated at the Turkish Military College, he joined the Amir Faisal in 1917.

Gazetted an officer in the Iraqi army in 1921, he attended a course in England about 1926. Commandant of Iraqi Staff College, 1931; Officer Commanding Iraqi Air Force, 1933; Cavalry Brigade, 1936; Third Division, 1937; Director-General of Administration in the Ministry of Defence 1941. Acting C.G.S. November, 1941. He accompanied the Regent to England, 1943.

Minister of Defence in the successive Cabinets of Hamdi Pachachi, Taufiq Suweidi and Arshad al Umari, 1944 to 1946. Appointed Senator, 1945.

His venality has been the subject of comment, but he is a quiet sensible man with no marked political tendencies. The Regent likes and trusts him. He speaks fair English. Appointed Honorary K.B.E. for war services 1946.

56. Ismail Safwat

Sunni of Mosul, born 1894. In Turkish times he graduated from the Teachers' Training School, and was a teacher in 1914. He was conscripted and served as a warrant officer in Eastern Anatolia during the first world war. In 1919 he joined the Arab army at Deir el Zor and took part in Jamil Madfai's advance on Tel 'Afar in 1920. After the collapse of Faisal's régime in Syria he went to Turkey.

He came to Iraq in 1922 and joined the Iraqi army. He was on Bekr Sidqi's staff at the time of the latter's coup d'état in 1936. From 1940 to 1943 he headed the Iraqi Military Mission to the Yemen. After his return to Iraq he held several brigade commands. Director

of Military Operations, Ministry of Defence, 1944. Promoted Major-General, 1946.

In October 1947 he presided over the Arab League Military Committee which sat at Aley Lebanon. Appointed Deputy C.G.S. early in 1948, he was made Commander of the Irregular Arab Army of liberation on the outbreak of hostilities in Palestine in May 1948. He returned to Iraq and was appointed G.O.C., Second Division, Kirkuk, in 1949.

He is a taciturn man with no sense of humour, but he has a reputation for efficiency and for being a good disciplinarian. He is on bad terms with C.G.S. Saleh Saib (q.v.). He has been reported as interested in politics, and he is a close friend and supporter of Jamil Madfai and Ali Jawdat who are also both from Mosul.

57. Ja'far Hamandi

Shia of Kadhimain, born 1894. Educated in Bagdad and was a school teacher in 1914. After the 1914-18 war, he graduated from the Bagdad Law College and joined the Ministry of Justice. Transferred to Interior in 1939; he served as Qaimmaqam in several districts and as Mutasarrif of Kut in 1936 and 1937. Was President of the Bar Association.

Minister of Education for a few months under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937; Minister of Social Affairs under Jamil Madfai in 1941. Between these ministerial appointments he returned to Interior and served as Mutasarrif in several liwas. He was appointed Mutasarrif of Bagdad in 1941 and resigned in 1942.

Deputy for Hilla 1943, and for Bagdad 1947, he lost his seat in June 1948, but was again elected in the by-elections of June 1950. He is now president of the Iraqi Bar Association.

Although Saleh Jabr is said to have assisted him to obtain a substantial grant of Government land in Hilla liwa in 1942, he joined the Constitutional bloc led by Nasrat al Farisi and strongly opposed the policies of Saleh Jabr's Government in 1947.

He speaks no English.

58. Jalal Baban

Kurd of the Baban family, born 1892. At first an extreme nationalist, he was deported in 1920 but released in 1921. Appointed Qaimmaqam in 1923 and later promoted to be Mutasarrif, he served in the administration until 1932.

Minister of Economics and Communications under Naji Shaukat in 1932, of Defence under Rashid Ali in 1933, and of Education under Jamil Madfai in 1934. Director-General of Finance 1934-35 and 1936-37.

Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri Said 1939-40 and under Jamil Madfai in 1941. Minister of Finance under Nuri Said in 1943. Senator 1937-43.

Again appointed Minister of Communications and Works under Mohammed al Sadr in January 1948, he managed to retain his portfolio in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim al Pachachi and Nuri Said until November 1949. Deputy for Diyala in the 1948 elections. Resigned his seat on his appointment as a Member of the Development Board.

No man is better versed than Jalal in the art of government as practised in Iraq. Like his distant cousin Jamal Baban (q.v.), he has been the Kurd in many Governments, though neither he nor Jamal can speak Kurdish nor have any special interest in Kurdistan. An unusually competent but elusive Minister, he is undoubtedly corrupt, but except in 1938 has managed to avoid open scandal.

59. Jamal Baban

A Kurdish lawyer of the Baban family, born 1890. After serving for some time as a judge in Northern Iraq he became Deputy for Erbil in 1928.

Minister of Justice under Nuri Said 1930-32, under Jamil Madfai 1933-34, and under Ali Jawdat 1934-35. In 1935 he joined the party organised by Jamil Madfai to oppose Yasin al Hashimi.

Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1941-42 and of Justice under Saleh Jabr in 1947. Between his ministerial appointments he practised as a lawyer, and was often Deputy. Appointed Senator in July 1947.

Like his relative Jalal Baban (q.v.), he has been almost a professional Kurdish Minister. As Minister under Saleh Jabr he was criticised for venality and for influencing judges. He was Acting Prime Minister during Saleh Jabr's absence in London for the signature of the Portsmouth Treaty, and his handling of the situation caused by the demonstration was inept; but in his defence it must be said that Saleh Jabr had kept him in the dark over the course of the negotiations. He resigned with two other Ministers before Saleh Jabr himself gave up hope, and has not been very active since. He is critical of the measures taken against Iraqi Jews in 1950 and 1951.

60. Jamal Umar Nadhmi

Kurd, born in 1912. Son of Umar Nadhmi (q.v.). Studied at the American University of Beirut.

After serving in the Northern liwas and in Diyala he was appointed Mutasarrif of Basra in July 1949.

Energetic and respected by the local officials and fond of social life. He has a good name for honesty. Intelligent but easily excited and violently anti-Jewish. He has no particular political affiliations but he is thought to have prospects as an Iraqi diplomatic representative abroad.

61. Jamil Abdul Wahhab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1910 of a middle-class family. Educated at Bagdad Law College and practised for a short time.

Joined Iraqi Government service in 1933, and was appointed Assistant Magistrate, Bagdad. He was later transferred to Baquba.

Deputy for Diyala in 1939 and Bagdad in 1943 and 1947. He lost his seat in 1948, but became Deputy for Mahmudiyah in 1950. A member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party from its foundation in 1949.

Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1946, and under Saleh Jabr 1947.

His marriage in 1933 to a niece of Nuri Said is the main reason for his political advancement. In spite of this connexion, his attitude during the Rashid Ali rebellion was ambiguous. He is a personal friend of the Regent and Shakir al Wadi, and in April 1949 was selected as Iraqi Minister at Cairo. The Egyptian Government, however, refused the agreement. He is reported to have engaged in doubtful land transactions in Hilla liwa and he is said to be dissolute, ambitious and untrustworthy. He speaks a little English.

62. Jamil Madfai

Sunni of Mosul, born about 1886. Educated Istanbul and gazetted an officer in the Turkish Army. He joined the Arab revolt and in 1920 was commanding the Sharifian forces at Deir el Zor. In that year he instigated the murder of the British Political Officer and entered Tel Afar, calling upon the tribes to rise against the British in the name of the Sharif. He retired to Syria when British troops approached from Mosul.

Returned to Iraq in 1923 and served as Mutasarrif in several liwas.

Deputy from 1929 and President of the Chamber from 1932 to 1933; Senator from 1935 to 1945 and again from 1948 onwards. President of the Senate 1943, 1949 and 1950.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha 1930; Prime Minister 1933 and again in 1934 with a different Cabinet. Minister of Defence under Ali Jaudat, August 1934; Prime Minister again for twelve days in March 1935, after which he was forced to resign by an agitation in the Middle Euphrates organised by Yasin Pasha al Hashimi. He refused an invitation to join the Government formed by Hikmat Sulaiman after the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'Etat* in 1936. He visited the Yemen in the winter of 1936-37 to obtain the Imam's adherence to the Iraqi-Saudi pact of Arab Brotherhood. Became Prime Minister again in August 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi and Hikmat Sulaiman's resignation. He was forced to resign in December 1938 by a military demonstration organised in favour of Nuri Said. He accompanied the Regent on his flight to Palestine during the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 and after its collapse became Prime Minister for a short time. In 1943 at the suggestion of Nuri Pasha, he toured the Arab countries to canvass support for Arab unity. In 1948 after the riots against the Portsmouth Treaty he took the portfolio of Interior under Muhammad as Sadr for a few months. In 1949 he was sent by Nuri Said to various Arab capitals in an attempt to unify Arab policy towards Palestine.

Jamil Madfai is said to have been energetic and resolute in his earlier years. He is popular in most political circles and his influence, which is generally used on the side of moderation, is still considerable, but he is an ageing man, susceptible to the intervention of others and afraid of making enemies. He is unlikely to take any further political part except as a figurehead. His acquisitions of land and commercial interests have made him a rich man. He speaks no English.

63. Jamil al Urfali

Born about 1907, of a long-established Bagdad family. Sunni. Educated at Bagdad Law College, whence he graduated in 1930, and studied for a short time at the London School of Economics. On his return he edited a weekly legal journal. He joined the Iraqi Judicial Service 1933 and served as a Judge in Hilla, Diwaniya, Nasiriya and later as Chief Magistrate and President of the Execution Department, Bagdad.

Deputy for Diyala 1947. Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies 1949. Founder-member and member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Unity Party, December 1949. Minister without Portfolio in charge of Arafat Affairs under Tawfiq Suweidi, 1950.

He is a protégé of Ahmad Mukhtar Baban, without much personal influence.

64. Kamil Chaderchi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1901. Half-brother of Raouf Chaderchi (q.v.). His father was exiled in 1920 and he accompanied him to Istanbul where he studied medicine for a year.

On returning to Iraq he studied law and graduated from the Bagdad Law College in about 1925, when he was appointed to a minor position in the Ministry of Finance. Became Private Secretary to Yasin al Hashimi in 1929, and left official employment soon after to edit *Al Ikha al Watani*, the organ of Yasin Pasha's party of that name. In the early 30's he was associated with the Ahali group with Mohammed Hadid, Abdul Fettah Ibrahim and Abdul Qadir Ismail and started the newspaper *Saut al Ahali*, which has continued with some interruption and changes of name ever since. He was convicted under the Press Law in 1934 and arrested in the same year for publishing pamphlets against King Ghazi but released for lack of evidence.

The Ahali group was privy to the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'Etat* against Yasin al Hashimi in 1936 and Kamil became Minister of Economics and Commerce in the Cabinet formed by Hikmet Sulaiman. He resigned in June 1937 because of the increasing influence of the Army. He later formed the Democratic Party with Mohammed Hadid, Majid Mustafa and Hikmet Sulaiman which had little success. He refused to enter Nuri Said's Cabinet in 1943. In 1946 he formed the National Democratic Party, which voluntarily suspended activity in 1948, but resumed in 1950. Both in 1946 and 1947 he was prosecuted on Press Law charges.

Kamil is a muddle-headed idealist who holds progressive social democratic views with complete sincerity, but he is incapable of translating these views into a consistent policy suitable to Iraqi conditions. The poor success of the National Democratic Party is largely due to his lack of leadership and organising ability. He is an unrelenting opponent of Nuri Said.

Formerly a rich landlord, he has now sold much of his land and is no longer wealthy. He speaks very little English.

65. Khalil Ismail

Bagdad Sunni, of an obscure family of Indian origin. Born 1903. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he held various positions in the Ministry of Interior from 1925 to 1932.

Secretary of the Cabinet 1932-35. Appointed Director-General of Interior 1935; of Education 1936; for Foreign Affairs 1937. Mutasarrif of Amara 1937-38.

Appointed Director-General of Interior 1938; of Arafat 1940; of Census 1941; of Revenues 1942; of Finance 1943; and of Customs and Excise 1945.

In November 1948 he was made Under-Secretary in charge of the Ministry of Finance during Muzahim al Pachachi's Government. In January 1949 he became Minister of Finance under Nuri Said and held this post until the whole Cabinet resigned in autumn 1949. He became Deputy for Amara in a by-election in March 1949.

A competent though ponderous official of the old school. While Minister of Finance he gave the appearance of being friendly and co-operative, but his habit of distorting facts was apt to lead to difficulties. Both during and after his period of office he was widely accused of corruption on a large scale. Speaks excellent English and prides himself on his legal knowledge.

66. Khalil Kanna

Sunni, born in Felluja about 1905. His family is of Turkoman origin. Educated at the American University of Beirut, and the Bagdad Law College, he entered Government service in 1933 and worked mainly in the Ministry of Communications and Works until 1941, when he supported Rashid Ali Gailani's *coup d'Etat* and was consequently interned.

In 1946 he was a founder-member of the Istiqlal Party, but he resigned from the Party with a flourish in 1947 and married a daughter of Ali Ridha al Askeri, thus becoming a relative of Nuri Said. Elected Deputy for the Dulaim in 1947, he was not returned in the 1948 elections. Deputy for Dulaim in by-elections of June 1950.

In January 1949 he started the newspaper *Al Ahd*, which was Nuri Said's mouthpiece. In December 1949 he became a founder-member of Nuri's Constitutional Union Party and was elected to its Central Committee.

Appointed Minister without Portfolio in Tawfiq Suweidi's Government in February 1950 to supervise press and propaganda affairs.

Appointed Minister of Education under Nuri Said in September 1950. His success in this post has largely re-established his political reputation. He represented Iraq at the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference in Geneva in June 1951.

A fervent Sunni and deeply distrusted by the Shias, he speaks good English.

His young wife speaks no English.

67. Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul

A Kurdish chief of the Pizhder tribe of Qal'a Diza, born about 1900. He is leader of that faction of the Pizhder which in strength and local influence among the Pizhder and neighbouring tribes rivals the faction led by Babekr Agha (q.v.). The Iraqi Government have not recognised his claim to paramount leadership of the Pizhder.

An active and intelligent man, he has been accused by Babekr Agha of having contact with Communists in Azerbaijan, but there is no proof of this. He professes loyalty to the British connexion.

68. Mahmud Agha Zibari

Kurdish chieftain of the Zibari tribe east of Amadia, born about 1895. At first a supporter of Mulla Mustafa (q.v.), who married his daughter, he was bribed with money and rifles by Mustafa al Umari (q.v.), then Minister of Interior, and took the Government side against Mulla Mustafa in 1945.

Since then the Central Government have appeased him. He was elected Deputy in 1947 and 1948 and was awarded the Order of the Rafidain Class IV. Nevertheless he has continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the administrative authorities, and his neighbours fear and hate him for his rapine. He is a ruffian and brigand, but he has influence in tribal circles and cannot be ignored.

69. Mahmud I Sheikh Said : Sheikh

Kurd of the family of Barzinja Sayyids. Born 1884. He inherited from his father considerable religious and tribal influence and a tradition of opposition to central authority. In Ottoman times he was notorious for his oppression and rapacity.

He was appointed Hukmdar of Sulaimaniya and given British advisers in December 1918. In June 1919 he attempted to throw off British control but was defeated, wounded and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted and he was imprisoned in India. He was again appointed Hukmdar in August 1922 but soon began to try to extend his personal power. He was summoned to Bagdad in February 1923 but took to the mountains with his personal following and remained an embarrassment to the authorities until his surrender in 1930. From 1931 to 1941 he was in forced residence at Nasiriya, Ramadi and Bagdad.

In 1941 he escaped to Kurdistan and prepared to oppose Rashid Ali's unconstitutional Government by force. Since the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion he has lived in semi-retirement at Dari Kella in Barsian near Sulaimaniya.

He is still very influential in Sulaimaniya and causes the local authorities some trouble. He hates all Arabs and holds the Bagdad Government in contempt. He has three sons, Raouf, Baba Ali (q.v.) and Latif. He speaks Turkish and Arabic in addition to Kurdish.

70. Mahmud Subhi Daftari

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1890 at Kerbala, where his father was Public Prosecutor. He received his primary education in Bagdad and was a school teacher for a short time. He entered Bagdad Law School, 1909 and completed his studies in Istanbul where his father was transferred about 1910. He

remained in Istanbul until 1921 and acquired some small reputation as a writer in literary periodicals.

Legal adviser to the Bagdad Municipality 1921-22; Deputy 1925; Amin al Asima 1930 and again in 1933. Principal of the Law School 1931; Director-General of Tapu 1932; Senator 1937 to 1944.

Minister of Justice under Nuri Said December 1938 to February 1940; Minister for Foreign Affairs also under Nuri 1943.

Mahmud Subhi is well-off, owning land on the Tigris in Azizieh Nahiya as well as house property in Bagdad. The nationalism of his youth has worn off and he is now out of politics and friends with everyone. He much enjoys social life and the sound of his own voice. He speaks Turkish and some French.

71. Mahrut al Hadhdhal, Sheikh

Sunni Arab, born about 1896. In 1927 he succeeded his famous father, Fahad Beg, as chief of the Amarat (Anaiza) tribe, beduin of the south-western desert of Iraq.

His father was uncompromisingly pro-British, but Mahrut has tried to maintain good relations with the Iraqi Government also. He is not highly respected in Bagdad, however.

In 1940 he contracted for the supply of labour on the Haifa-Bagdad road, but during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941 some of his tribesmen got out of control and looted the road camps. During the war he engaged in profitable smuggling, particularly of arms, from Palestine.

His Razaza estate, west of Kerbala, was expropriated for the Abu Dibis reservoir in 1944-45, and out of the high compensation he received Mahrut has since bought other estates near Kerbala.

Justly proud of his pedigree, Mahrut has more of the avarice than of the generosity characteristic of the beduin. Intensely hated in Shi'ite Kerbala, he is often held up by Iraqis as an example of the poor son of a fine father. He respects the British.

72. Majid Mustafa

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born about 1895. An officer in the Turkish Army during the First World War, he remained pro-Turkish for some time and later became an active supporter of Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.).

Appointed Mudir Nahiya 1927; Qaimmaqam 1928-35; Mutasarrif 1935-41; he was an able administrator.

His attitude during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941 was equivocal, and he forfeited the trust of both sides. On the Regent's return to Bagdad he was suspended for four years for having complied with Rashid Ali's orders.

Nevertheless in December 1943 the Regent reluctantly agreed to his appointment as Minister without Portfolio to advise on Kurdish affairs in Nuri Said's Government. He achieved a peaceful settlement with Mulla Mustafa of Barzan in January 1944, but resigned with the whole Cabinet in June 1944.

Appointed Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said in September 1950 and elected Deputy for Erbil in November 1950.

Although he is a Kurd first and an Iraqi afterwards, Majid has proved an able Minister. He has sought the assistance of this Embassy on numerous occasions in connexion with the re-organisation of his Ministry. He has large and successful business interests including a marble quarry in Rowanduz. He speaks little English.

73. Mar Shimun

Eshai Mar Shimun XXIIIrd, Patriarch of the Assyrians. Born about 1909, he succeeded to the patriarchate in 1920 when a child. Educated in England at a seminary in Canterbury.

After his return to Iraq he inspired the mutiny of the Assyrian Levies in 1932 and the exodus of the Assyrians to Syria in 1933 which precipitated the massacres in Mosul liwa of that year. He was deported in 1933 and given asylum in Cyprus. He spent the next seven years in Europe, mostly in England and Geneva, trying to obtain assistance for his people. Granted British naturalisation in 1939 and went to Cyprus, but in 1940 he went to America and has since been living in Chicago, taking a full part in intrigues which split the Assyrians both inside and outside Iraq.

Mar Shimun's aim was to establish the whole Assyrian community in a compact enclave under his own spiritual and temporal authority. His political inexperience and overweening ambitions caused his people much needless suffering.

74. Maulud Mukhlis

Sunni, born about 1880. He served with gallantry in the Sherifian army and was badly wounded.

He returned to Bagdad in 1921, after serving in Syria, and joined the extreme Nationalists. As no post could be found for him in the Iraq Army he was given the Al Hamra estate near Tokrit and settled down to cultivate it.

He was Mutasarrif of Kerbala in 1923. Since 1925 he has been a Senator most of the time, and still is; but he was President of the Chamber of Deputies from 1937 to 1941. He was bitterly hostile to Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'Etat* of 1936 and to the succeeding Government of Hikmat Sulaiman, and an attempt was made to assassinate him early in 1937. Bekr Sidqi's aides-de-camp were suspected.

Formerly an impulsive nationalist with pan-Arab sentiments, Maulud has in recent years become an habitual drunkard. He has little influence left.

75. Muaffaq al Alusi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1894. Educated in France, he returned to Bagdad in 1926.

Professor at the Law School 1926. Director-General Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1928. He withdrew to Beirut after a quarrel with the Minister Abdullah Damluji (q.v.) in 1930. He accompanied Nuri Said to Mecca to negotiate the Iraqi-Nejd Bon Voisinage agreement in 1931. Became Judicial Adviser to Ibn Saud 1932. Returned to Bagdad 1933 and held positions in the Iraqi Foreign Service at Tehran, Beirut and Bombay. He was dismissed from the Foreign Service in 1937, reinstated in 1939 and served at Paris, Damascus and Istanbul. He was recalled in November 1941 and again dismissed in 1943. Since then Ibn Saud has befriended him and used him on occasion. In 1949 he sent him to Syria to intrigue against Iraqi-Syrian union.

Muaffaq is a unprincipled adventurer. He drinks heavily and his habits are unsavoury.

76. Mudhaffar Ahmad

Sunni, born in Hilla in 1899. Educated in Bagdad, he was an officer in the Turkish army.

Gazetted Assistant Commandant of Police in 1921, he was promoted Commandant in 1932. After a course at the Birmingham City Police School he was appointed principal of the Inspectors' Training School and thereafter held several appointments on the headquarters staff of the police. As Director of the C.I.D. after Rashid Ali's rebellion he enforced energetic anti-Nazi measures. His reputation in the police was high.

Director-General of Civil Defence 1941-43; Mutasarrif of Ramadi 1943; Basra 1944-45; Mosul 1946; Bagdad 1946-48. He was allotted some of the blame for police action against the January 1948 demonstrations and was removed to the Administrative Inspectorate in March 1948. He was appointed

Mayor of Bagdad in 1949, and in 1950 refused the Directorate-General of Police in succession to Ali Hejazi (q.v.).

Appointed Honorary O.B.E. for war services 1946.

He is a polished and popular man and a keen sportsman. He is related through his mother to Nuri Said and to the Askari family, and his wife, who appears in public, is a Partow. He and his wife speak good English and Turkish and some French.

77. Muhammed Ali Mahmud

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1895. Educated Bagdad Law School and employed in the Ministry of Justice, in which he rose to become Director-General. He also held post of Director-General Tapu and in 1935 was a member of the Court of Cassation.

Deputy for Diyala in the Parliament of 1935 and for Erbil in those of 1936 and 1937. Minister of Finance in Hikmat Sulaiman's re-formed Cabinet of 1937.

He was Minister of Communications and Works in Rashid Ali's unconstitutional Cabinet of April 1941. On its collapse he fled to Persia but was handed over to the British in September 1941. He was interned in Rhodesia and sent back to Iraq in 1944, where he was tried and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but released in 1947. He was elected Deputy for Kor Sanjaq in November 1950.

His daughter is married to a son of Ja'far al Askari and probably because of this connexion he joined Nuri Pasha's constitutional party in 1949. Elected to the Central Committee of the Party in November 1950.

He has only just emerged into social life. He appears to be an intelligent and reasonable man and to be feeling his way carefully back into politics. He speaks no English.

78. Mohammed Hassan Kubba

Shia of Bagdad, born 1891 and educated locally. In 1913 he became a teacher of Arabic at the German School in Bagdad. After the occupation he set up in commerce in a small way. He entered the Law School in 1920 and as a student was associated with the nationalist activities of Jafar Abu Timman. He graduated in 1923 and joined Government service. Judge at Suwaira 1927, at Kadhimain 1931; legal draftsman in the Ministry of Justice 1938.

Deputy 1944 and President of the Chamber 1947. Senator from July 1947 and Vice-President of the Senate December 1947. Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1943, he retained this portfolio in the succeeding Government of Hamdi Pachachi, but resigned to become President of the Chamber. Minister of Justice under Arshad al Umari 1946 and again in 1948 under Muzahim al Pachachi. Minister of Justice under Nuri Said January 1949. Minister without Portfolio in Nuri Said's cabinet in December 1950.

A weak individual who would never have become a Minister had he been born a Sunni. He wished to resign from Arshad's Cabinet in 1946 owing to the Prime Minister's interference with the courts, but a word from the Regent restrained him. He is pleasant and friendly and proud of his erudition in Shariya law. He speaks no English.

79. Muhammad Hussain Hadid

Sunni, born 1906 of a merchant family of Mosul. Educated at American University, Beirut, 1924 to 1928, and London School of Economics 1928 to 1931.

Employed in the Ministry of Finance 1931 to 1937; Deputy for Mosul 1937; Minister of Supply under Nuri Pasha in 1946, he resigned from this Government in protest against Government interference in the elections.

He was a prominent member of the so-called Ahali Group in the first half of the 1930's. This group advocated a mild form of socialism. Some of its members later became communists. In the later '30s he was associated with Kamil Chaderchi's Democratic Party and was one of the founder members of the National Democratic Party in 1946. He is Vice-President of this party which suspended activity in 1948 but resumed in 1950. He resigned his seat in the Chamber in 1950 with the rest of the opposition deputies in protest against the intolerance of the Government and of Nuri Said's majority party.

Apart from his political activities, he has large business interests and is a partner with Kamil Khedairi in a flourishing soap business which exports to India and Egypt.

Mohammed Hadid is an intelligent and sincere democrat, an effective speaker and a persuasive writer, but he has not made the intellectual effort required to transform the ideas he learned at the London School of Economics into a suitable policy for Iraq. Until this is done he and his kind are likely to remain in sterile opposition. Although a nationalist and an outspoken critic of British influence in Iraq, he is friendly to us and has a number of British friends. He speaks excellent English.

80. Muhammad Hussain al Kashif al Ghita

The most important Arab Shia mujtahid of Najaf. Born between 1880 and 1890 of a large family of Najaf, he was educated in the religious schools of Najaf, and is said to be very learned in Shi'ite law and theology. He has published a popular book on the origins and doctrine of the Shia.

He was Iraqi delegate to the Moslem Conference at Jerusalem in 1931, and has since visited Persia. In 1935 he played a prominent part in the Euphrates tribal insurrections against Yasin al Hashimi's Government, hoping thereby to secure for the Shia a greater share in the Government of Iraq. After the defeat of the tribes he withdrew to the silence of Najaf.

Suspected in 1939 of accepting money from the German Legation to foster anti-British feeling, he issued a fatwa against the British during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941, but recanted after Rashid Ali's defeat and managed to rehabilitate himself very quickly. His nephew Ahmad was, however, interned from 1941 to 1944.

Honoured by all Iraqi Shias, Sheikh Muhammad Hussain still has some influence with the tribes of Southern Iraq. A foxy, inscrutable man and a born intriguer, he maintains relations with several Shi'ite politicians. He hates Communist Russia, but will never forgive the British for their policy in Palestine.

81. Muhammad Mahdi Kubba

Born about 1900 of the well-known Bagdad Shia family of Kubba, he was educated in the religious seminary at Najaf in Grammar, Persian and theology.

After the First World War he engaged in quite a humble way in the textile trade in common with other members of his family. He never held Government office of any kind until 1948, although he was once a Deputy for Bagdad in 1937.

He was a member of the Nationalist Muthanna Club from its foundation and was helped into politics by a fellow member Dr. Jamali (q.v.). He developed pro-Axis sympathies during a visit to Germany in the late '30's but took no active part in the Rashid Ali movement.

He was made president of the Istiqlal Party on its formation in 1946, probably owing to his Shia origin, well-known name, and clean record. His voice in its councils is less effective than those of Faiq Samarra and Siddiq Shenshal. Re-elected president

of the Istiqlal Party in November 1950, he strongly supported the Persian Government in their efforts to nationalise the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951.

Minister of Supply in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948, he resigned in June over the conduct of the elections. However, he became Deputy for Bagdad in these elections, but resigned his seat in protest, in common with the rest of the opposition, in March 1950. He was re-elected in the by-elections in June.

An untidy looking man, he has a reputation for sobriety and honesty. His enemies accuse him of folly rather than knavery. Intelligent, but not politically astute, he only speaks Arabic and Persian. He is a strong opponent of British "imperialism."

82. Mohammed Ridha Shabibi

Shia of Nejaf, born 1889. Educated in the religious schools of Nejaf. In 1908 he began to publish poetry in the Egyptian periodical press and acquired a reputation as a literary man. He played some part in the nationalist disturbances in Nejaf during the occupation. In 1919 he was sent to the Hejaz by some Iraqi nationalists to offer the Iraqi throne to the Amir Abdullah; thence he went to Syria and did not return to Bagdad until 1921.

He was a member of the Constituent Assembly and was Deputy for Bagdad in most Iraqi Parliaments until 1935. Senator from 1935 to 1943 and President of the Senate for a few months in 1937. He returned to the Lower House in 1943 and was its President in 1943-44. He resigned from Parliament with the Opposition deputies in March 1950.

Minister for Education under Yasin al Hashimi in 1924, he resigned from this Government with Rashid Ali Gailani over the Turkish Petroleum Company concession. Again Minister for Education in 1935 under Yasin al Hashimi, under Jamil Madfai in 1937 and 1941, and under Mohammed al Sadr in 1948.

In 1951 he played a prominent part in the formation of the United Popular Front and was elected Chairman of the Front's Political Committee.

A genial old bigot whose views on education are strongly reactionary. He is a strong critic of British influence in Iraq, but he is personally friendly to Englishmen. He speaks no English.

83. Muhammad Said Qazzaz

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born about 1903. Largely self educated. He began his career as a clerk in the Mutasarrifiya in Sulaimaniya in 1924. Appointed Quaimmaqam of Halebu in 1934. Transferred in 1939 to Zakho and in 1941 to Kifri. From 1941 to 1944 he served in the Ministry of the Interior. In 1944 he was appointed Mutasarrif at Kut. Transferred to Erbil in 1945 and to Kirkuk in 1947, after a short spell as an Administrative Inspector. Appointed Mutasarrif of Mosul in 1949.

He has visited England and in the summer of 1950 he toured America as a guest of the United States Government.

Hard working, honest and fearless, Said Qazzaz is generally regarded as one of the best administrators in the country. He is a close friend of Mustafa al Umari and Majid Mustafa. He speaks good English.

84. Muhammad al Sadr (Sayid)

Shia of Kadhimain, born about 1885. Educated in religious circles at Kadhimain.

He was a strong nationalist in the early days of the British occupation and took an active part in the insurrection of 1920. He fled to Syria after its suppression and returned with King Faisal in June 1921.

Appointed Senator in 1925. He was president of the Senate from 1929 to 1937 and again after a short interval from 1937 to 1943. He has several times been a member of the Regency Council during the Regent's absences from Iraq. Prime Minister January to June 1948.

Muhammad al Sadr's political importance is due to his religious prestige and his nationalist past. For these reasons he is always consulted at moments of crisis but his weakness, ignorance and incapacity were amply proved by his total failure as Prime Minister to restore normal conditions after the disturbances in Baghdad which removed Saleh Jabr and secured the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. He speaks no English.

85. Muhammad Sadiq Shenshal

Sunni, born in Mosul about 1908. Studied law at Bagdad and Damascus. He subsequently studied at the Sorbonne, returning to Iraq in 1939.

After serving as a Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs he became Director of Propaganda under Rashid Ali in 1941. Although acquitted of the charges brought against him he was interned. In 1946 he took a leading part in the formation of the Istiqlal Party.

Sadiq Shenshal is violently anti-British and he keeps up a flow of invective against the British connexion in Parliament and in the press. He is married to a sister of Yunis Sab'awi who was executed for the part he played in the Rashid Ali revolt.

86. Muhammed Salim al Radhi

Sunni, born Bagdad 1899. He was educated in Bagdad, the American University of Beirut and the Universities of California and Texas, from which he obtained doctorates in Agriculture and Science. Returning to Iraq in 1926 he joined the Department of Agriculture, in which he eventually became, and remained for several years, Director-General.

Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1946. Iraqi Minister in Tehran, 1947-49. Appointed first Iraqi Minister to India, July 1949.

He is a landowner and is connected with the wealthy Shabandar family. His reputation in the Department of Agriculture was good, but as Minister in Tehran he was not popular with the Persians. Iraqi Shias accuse him of being a fanatical Sunni. He and his attractive wife both speak English well.

87. Mulla Mustafa

Kurdish chieftain of Barzan, born about 1898. Younger brother of Ahmad of Barzan (q.v.).

He was the fighting leader of the Barzanis in the troubles of 1931-32, surrendered with Sheikh Ahmad in 1933, and was banished to Sulaimaniya, where he lived for ten years in poverty on a small allowance from the Government.

In 1943 he escaped to Barzan, where he soon became involved in skirmishes with the Iraqi police. At first concerned only with his own position, he later began to pose as a champion of Kurdish nationalism and won much Kurdish sympathy and support. He resisted successfully the forces of police and troops sent against him. In January 1944, a settlement was arranged, and he visited Bagdad to make submission to the Regent. Returning to Barzan, he remained restless, but was formally pardoned in April 1945, when the Iraqi Government announced a programme for improving security and developing agriculture in the Barzan area.

Becoming impatient, he again took up arms against the Government in August 1945. Large Iraqi forces and clever bribery administered by Mustafa al Umari (q.v.) eventually defeated the Barzanis, and he and his brother Ahmed fled to Persia, where they were well received by the Russian authorities.

After the collapse of the Persian Kurdish independence movement led by Qazi Muhammed, Mulla Mustafa and his brother retired before the Persian forces and entered Iraq in May 1947. Sheikh Ahmad surrendered to the Iraqi Government but Mulla

Mustafa refused unconditional surrender and managed to escape with a few hundred men through Turkey and Azerbaijan into the Soviet Union.

At first welcomed by the Russian authorities, but now, it is said, despised, the Mulla remains in the U.S.S.R. Popular fear of his eventual return keeps his name alive in Iraq.

88. Musa Shabandar

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1899, the son of a wealthy landowner. His brother Ibrahim is a prominent Bagdad merchant. Educated in Bagdad and in Switzerland, he was in Europe from 1918 to 1932, mostly in Switzerland and Germany.

Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service, 1932; Secretary of Iraqi delegation to the League of Nations, 1933; First Secretary, Berlin, 1935. In 1937 he was accused of giving certificates of export to Iraq for munitions destined for Spain. He was recalled and arrested, but proceedings against him were dropped.

Deputy for Amara 1937 to 1939.

Re-appointed to the Foreign Service 1939 and sent to Berlin as chargé d'affaires. Assistant Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, October 1939. Minister for Foreign Affairs in the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali in April 1941. He fled to Persia after Rashid Ali's collapse, but was caught and interned in Rhodesia and later sent back to Iraq for trial. He was sentenced in 1944 to five years' imprisonment and sequestration of property. Owing to ill-health he did not serve all his sentence.

He has been free since 1947 and in 1949 he joined Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party and was appointed Minister at Damascus.

Musa Shabandar is not a strong personality. He is intelligent and accommodating, an official rather than a politician. He is married to a Lebanese and speaks English, French and German.

89. Mustafa al Umari

Sunni of the Umari family of Mosul. Born in 1893 and educated at the Bagdad Law School, he served as an officer in the Turkish forces in Mesopotamia in the first world war and was taken prisoner.

He entered Government service at the end of the war, served as Qaimmaqam and Mutasarrif in several districts and also held the posts of Accountant-General and Director-General of Interior.

He was Minister of Interior under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937; under Jamil Madfai, 1937-38 and in 1941; under Hamdi Pachachi, 1944-46 and under Muzahim Pachachi in 1948. He has also been Minister of Justice under Madfai in late 1938, of Economics under Muhammed al Sadr, January-June 1948 (Acting Interior from March 1948 onwards), and without Portfolio under Muzahim at the end of 1948 and under Nuri Said from December 1950. He has been a Senator since 1937.

Of all Iraqi politicians and officials Mustafa is probably the most notorious for corruption. He is also one of the most capable administrators and most astute politicians in the country. He may be said to exhibit the best and the worst features of the Ottoman idea of Government. His administration during 1945 and his conduct of the 1948 elections aroused severe criticism, but he served his country well during the Barzani troubles of 1945, when his well-directed bribery was of great assistance to the Iraqi forces operating against Mulla Mustafa. He speaks only a little English.

90. Muzahim Amin al Pachachi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888. Educated at the Law School in Bagdad and graduated in 1912. Before the 1914 war he was a strong Arab nationalist. He wrote for Arab nationalist papers and had to flee to Basra in 1913 to escape arrest. After the war he was

employed as a magistrate by the occupation authorities in Basra and returned to Bagdad in 1922.

He joined Government service in March 1923 and became Minister of Communications and Works under Yasin al Hashimi in 1924. In 1927 he was sent to London as Iraqi Diplomatic Agent, returning in 1928. Minister of Economics and Communications under Nuri Pasha, January 1931, and almost immediately after Minister of Interior in the same Government. He resigned in October 1931 because of differences with his colleagues over his dismissal of the Amin al Asima, Mahmud Subhi Daftari. In May 1932 he was charged with complicity in the circulation of scurrilous letters about the King. He was tried and acquitted in October 1932.

Iraqi Minister at Rome and Permanent Iraqi delegate at Geneva, 1934; Minister at Paris, 1939; he remained there as Minister to the Vichy Government and did not return when Iraq broke off relations in November 1941 but went instead to Rome. In 1944 he went to Geneva and sought facilities to return to Iraq, which were refused. He eventually returned in November 1945.

Prime Minister, June 1948 to January 1949; deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs under Ali Jawdat, December 1949 to February 1950. He was appointed Senator in 1948 but the appointment was held to be constitutionally invalid by a High Court in 1950. He left Iraq for Egypt and Saudi Arabia just before the issue of this decision. He returned to Iraq in November 1950 and took a leading part in the formation of the United Popular Front in May 1951. The Regent is unlikely to agree to his early return to office.

Muzahim's character presents some contradiction. He is a strong nationalist and resents "imperialism" deeply, but he has been much influenced by the Social Democratic ideas which he has encountered during his prolonged residence in Western Europe. He is often reasonable, but can be stupidly obstinate. Politically courageous at times, at others he gives up without a struggle. His ideas on general policy are sensible, but as a political tactician he is inept. He hates Nuri Pasha and strongly resents his influence with the Regent. This has led him to criticise the latter indiscreetly on occasion. He is very deaf. He speaks English.

91. Nadhif Shawi

Sunni, originally of the Ubaid tribe. Born Bagdad 1887. Educated at the Military College, Istanbul, and gazetted an officer in the Turkish army in 1909. He served in Syria in the Turkish Coastal Defence forces throughout the first world war. Afterwards he joined King Faisal's army in Syria and fought against the French at Maisaloun in 1920.

After the expulsion of Faisal from Syria he returned to Bagdad and for some years was a secondary school teacher. During this period he graduated from the Bagdad Law School.

He joined the Iraqi army in 1927. In 1935 he attended army manoeuvres in England, and on his return was given command of the Iraqi Staff College. Brigadier and Assistant C.G.S., 1937; retired, 1939.

Minister of Defence under Jamil Madfai, June to October 1941. Deputy for Dulaim, 1943 to 1947. Founder member of Saleh Jabr's Popular Socialist Party, June 1951. He was described as a pleasant but colourless Minister.

92. Nadim Shakir al Pachachi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1914. Nephew of the late Hamdi Pachachi and of Muzahim Pachachi (q.v.). Educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and London University.

Returned to Bagdad in 1938 and was appointed to the Ministry of Economics in which he rose to be Director-General by 1944.

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He was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations in 1946 and visited London and America in 1948 to try to obtain support for the proposed Iraqi Oil Refinery at Baiji. Early in 1950 he quarrelled with his Minister, Dhia Jaafar, and tendered his resignation. His resignation was not accepted and he was appointed Director-General of Oil Affairs in June 1950. In this capacity he was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company in the summer and autumn of 1950. In March 1951 he again became Director-General of Economics. He again visited the United Kingdom in connexion with tenders for the oil refinery and the Iraq Government's gold case against the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Nadim has not a very strong personality but he is an exceptionally intelligent and competent official whose rapid rise was not entirely due to the influence of his family. He is friendly and co-operative. Has up to the present shown no signs of wishing to enter politics. In addition to his official position he is a landowner and farmer on a large scale. He divorced his first wife (a Pachachi) in 1947 in order to marry a cabaret artiste. He divorced his second wife in 1950. He speaks excellent English.

93. Dr. Naji al Asil

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1895. A graduate of the Constantinople Medical School in Ottoman times, he first became prominent in 1922 as semi-official Hashimite representative in London. After Ibn Saud's conquest of the Hejaz he became destitute and was deported to Iraq in 1925.

Employed in the Iraqi Military Medical Service from 1926, he was appointed Iraqi Consul-General and chargé d'affaires in Jidda in 1931 and transferred to Mohammerah in 1932. Acting Director-General of Foreign Affairs 1933-34; Counsellor in Tehran 1935; Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1936.

Minister for Foreign Affairs under Hikmat Sulaiman 1936-37, he went into retirement after that Cabinet's resignation until 1944, when he was appointed Director-General of Antiquities. Appointed permanent Iraqi delegate to the United Nations Organisation by the Sadr Cabinet in February 1948, he was recalled in June 1948 and returned to the Antiquities Department. Appointed an Active Member of the Iraq Academy in November 1949.

A polished and intelligent but ponderous man, he is not now on close terms with the leading politicians. He began well in the Antiquities Department but later his work was affected by his personal financial difficulties. He speaks English well.

94. Naji Shaukat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1891, brother of Sami Shaukat (q.v.). Educated Istanbul and became a reserve officer in the Turkish Army. Joined the Arab revolt at Aqaba in 1916.

He returned to Bagdad in 1919 and from 1921 to 1928 was Mutasarrif of various southern liwas, ending with Bagdad 1924-28.

He first became a Deputy in 1929; Minister of Interior under Abdul Musin Saadun in 1928 and again in 1929; Iraqi Minister at Ankara 1930-31; Minister of Interior under Nuri Said 1931; Prime Minister 1932; Minister of Interior under Jamil Madfai 1933; again Iraqi Minister at Ankara 1934. In this capacity he accompanied Taufiq Rustu Aras, the then Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on an official visit to Iraq in 1937. He was then offered a portfolio in the Government of Hikmat Sulaiman, but declined because of his objection to Bekr Sidqi's influence. Minister of Interior under Nuri Said 1938, but resigned in April 1939. Minister of Justice under Rashid Ali March 1940.

After the collapse of France he became a strong advocate of reinsurance with the Axis and, with Rashid Ali's approval, he went to Istanbul in September 1940 to establish contact with the German Ambassador, Herr von Papen. He resigned from the Government in January 1941, but became Minister of Defence in the unconstitutional cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. During the Rashid Ali rebellion in May he went to Turkey to try to enlist Turkish support for Rashid Ali's cause, and remained in Turkey after the collapse of the rebellion. He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. He spent the war years between Berlin and Rome, receiving a Minister's salary from the Reich Government. In the summer of 1945 he was arrested in Italy, sent back to Iraq and imprisoned.

He was pardoned by the Regent in May 1948, but has not yet returned to social or political life.

95. Najib al Rawi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1898; brother of Ahmed al Rawi (q.v.). Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he worked for a short time as a clerk in the Revenue Department under the British Administration. He has a large practice as a lawyer and was President of the Lawyers' Association in 1942 and again in 1947.

He entered politics as a protégé of Nuri Said in 1930 and was Deputy for Dulaim in the Parliaments of 1930, 1934, 1937, 1943, 1947 and 1948. He resigned his seat with the Opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Minister of Education under Tawfiq Suweidi 1946; Minister of Justice under Mohammed al Sadr in 1948; Minister of Education in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim al Pachachi, Nuri Said and Ali Jaudat, June 1948 to February 1950. He represented Iraq at the Paris Session of U.N.O. in September 1948. Appointed Iraqi Minister in Cairo in August 1950.

Politically he is a trimmer and has a foot in several camps, though he is generally regarded as primarily a Palace man. He is friendly to the British connexion but is not altogether trustworthy. He is married to one of the Daghestani sisters and speaks a little English.

96. Nasrat al Farisi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1890. Educated Bagdad Law School.

He was conscripted for the Turkish Army before he had graduated, and served as a warrant officer during the 1914-18 war in which he saw service against the Russians at Hamadan and against the British at Kut.

After the war he completed his legal studies in Istanbul and returned to Bagdad about 1922.

He served for several years in the twenties as legal draughtsman in the Ministry of Justice.

First Deputy for Bagdad in 1926 and again in 1932, and in most of the Iraqi Parliaments since then. He resigned his seat with the Opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs 1935. Iraqi delegate at Geneva 1937 to 1938. He was appointed Iraqi Minister at Ankara in April 1943 but did not proceed. In 1945 he was a member of the Iraqi delegation at San Francisco.

Minister of Finance under Naji Shaukat 1932 and again under Jamil Madfai 1933. Minister of Economics under Jamil Madfai, June to October 1941. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Said June to October 1943. In the Cabinet of Muhammad Sadr of 1948 he was first Minister without Portfolio, then Minister of Interior and finally Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was closely associated with the formation of the United Popular Front in May 1951.

Nasrat is more of a Turk than an Arab, although he was known as an Arab nationalist in the twenties when he was a member of the Sha'ab party of Yasin al Hashimi. He is honest, intelligent and cautious. His approach to political questions is legalistic and theoretical. When considering any course of action he sees the difficulties more clearly than the advantages and is inclined to be obstructive. This characteristic made him one of Iraq's worst Ministers of Interior. He is a sincere reformer who believes in parliamentary democracy and resents the abuses of it which are normal in Iraq. He resigned from Nuri's Cabinet in 1943 as a protest against the Regent's interference in the elections. The nationalist views of his younger days have been modified by experience, but he is still a firm opponent of what he regards as undue British influence exercised through Nuri and the Palace. His wife is prominent in Ladies' Red Crescent activities, and both speak good English. He is personally friendly to the British.

97. Nuri al Qadhi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Graduated from Bagdad Law School in Turkish times, and in 1914 was a judge in Basra. During the first world war he served as a reserve officer with the Turkish forces.

He joined Iraqi Government service in 1921 after serving as judge in the Muntafik under the Civil Administration. Vice-President of the Civil Courts in several provinces, including Bagdad, 1925, and Mosul, 1937. Director-General of Waqfs, 1931, Head of Legal Drafting Department, Ministry of Justice, 1936. Director-General Ministry of Justice, March 1940, Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers, December 1941 and Head of the Diwan of the Council of Ministers in May 1950.

He accompanied Nuri Said to Ankara for the negotiation of the Iraqi-Turkish Treaty of 1946. Minister of Education, 1946, under Arshad al Umari, he afterwards returned to his post with the Council of Ministers, which he still holds.

98. Nuri Sa'id

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888, son of an accountant of Mosul descent. Educated at Military College, Istanbul and served in the Balkan war.

He was one of the founders of the Arab Nationalist Society, Al Ahd, in 1913 and joined the Arab army in the Hejaz in 1916. He served in this army as C.G.S. under his brother-in-law, Jafar al Askari. At that time he was described as a good strategist, clever and hard working, but rash and hot-headed under fire. He won the D.S.O. in 1917 and was appointed an honorary C.M.G. in 1919.

After the 1914 war he remained with Faisal in Syria and accompanied him to London and Paris in 1919 and 1920. He was opposed to Faisal's break with the French.

He returned to Bagdad in February 1921 and soon after became C.G.S. and Director-General of Police, retaining these appointments until 1922.

He has been nine times Minister of Defence, in 1922 (Acting), 1923, 1925, 1926, 1928, 1929 (twice) 1933 and 1941 (Acting), in Cabinets headed by Jafar al Askari, Abdul Muhsin Sa'adun, Rashid Ali Gailani and himself. Nine times Minister for Foreign Affairs, in 1930, 1933 (twice), 1934, 1938 (Acting), 1940 (Acting), 1942 (Acting), in Cabinets headed by Rashid Ali Gailani, Jamil Madfai, Ali Jaudat and himself. He has also been Prime Minister in 1930, 1931, 1938, 1939, 1941-43, 1946, 1949, 1950 and 1951.

His achievements in diplomacy are also impressive. He negotiated and signed the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930; he negotiated the Bon Voisinage Agreement with Nejd and the Hejaz, 1931. He signed the Extradition Treaty and a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey in 1932 and negotiated and signed the

Economic and Commercial Treaty with Turkey in 1946. He represented Iraq at the London conversations in January 1939, which eventually resulted in the issue of the 1939 White Paper on Palestine, and he led the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations General Assembly which decided the partition of Palestine in 1947. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation which signed the unratified Portsmouth Treaty with the United Kingdom in 1948.

After the Bekr Sidqi military coup of October 1936, during which Jafar al Askari was murdered, Nuri retired with his family to Egypt. He returned a year later after Bekr Sidqi had been murdered and Hikmat Sulaiman's Government had fallen, but left again soon after and spent most of 1938 in Syria, Egypt and London, where he held a number of inconclusive conversations with politicians on the Palestine problem. In December 1938 he returned to Iraq and became Prime Minister as a result of a military demonstration organised on his behalf by Taha al Hashimi and Hussain Fawzi, against the Government of Jamil Madfai. In January 1941 he resigned from Rashid Ali's Government, in which he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, because of Rashid Ali's increasing inclination towards the Axis Powers. In April 1941, shortly before the army overthrew Taha al Hashimi and set up the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali, Nuri withdrew to Transjordan, where he remained until he was able to return with the Regent in June. He became Prime Minister in the autumn of the same year and remained in power until June 1944. During this period he collaborated closely with His Majesty's Ambassador in eradicating pro-Nazi propaganda in Iraq and it was due to his initiative that Iraq declared war on the Axis Powers in January 1943.

He accompanied the Regent on his travels to America and Europe during the summer of 1945, and to England in 1946. On his way home on the second occasion he had talks in Syria and Turkey in the hope of removing the difficulties between these countries.

He formed a Cabinet in November 1946 to carry out elections, and included in it some younger men and representatives of the newly formed National Democratic and Liberal Parties. Nuri's ideas about free elections did not agree with theirs, and they resigned after about a month protesting that Nuri and Saleh Jabr were preparing to exert undue Government influence on the elections.

Nuri collaborated with Saleh Jabr in the negotiation of the Portsmouth Treaty during 1947 and shared with him the nationalist resentment which was fermented against it in January 1948. Within a year, however, he demonstrated his mastery of the Iraqi political scene by returning to power as Prime Minister in January 1949. He succeeded in improving public security and in withdrawing the army from Palestine without incident. He took a very firm line with the organising committees of the Communist Party, five members of which were hanged. But he failed to do much to improve the financial position of the Government in spite of a personal visit to London. He was much disappointed by his failure to obtain an advance of royalties from the Iraq Petroleum Company. During the troubled period which followed Colonel Zaim's *coup d'Etat* in Syria in the spring of 1949, Nuri worked hard, but unsuccessfully, for Iraqi-Syrian union. He resigned in December 1949.

In the summer of 1950 he went to London where he negotiated a temporary increase in oil royalties with the Iraq Petroleum Company. In 1951 he visited Bahrain, Kuwait and Jordan.

Nuri dominates Iraqi politics. Death or exile have removed the few politicians of his generation such as Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali Gailani who could hope to rival him, and of the younger men only Saleh

Jabr is in his class. His intelligence, vigour and courage have not yet begun to fail and he can still deal as unscrupulously and ruthlessly with his enemies as in the past. Nevertheless, his outstanding skill in political intrigue and his fearless advocacy of the British connexion have made him widely distrusted both inside and outside Iraq, and this has prevented him achieving any positive success during his last few periods of office.

His talents are in negotiation and political manoeuvre and his interest in Arab and world politics. His dream is of an Arab Kingdom unified under a Hashimite monarch. This kingdom would exclude Egypt and Arabia and would be closely allied with Great Britain.

He is uninterested in the details of domestic administration and his long periods of power have contributed little to Iraqi social or economic progress. Not personally corrupt, he condones corruption in others (his son Subah is notorious in this respect) and his nephews and marriage connexions can usually count on obtaining Government employment.

He enjoys his food and drink, has a keen sense of humour and is excellent company. He speaks English, German, French and Turkish.

99. Nuruddin Mahmud

Kurd, born in Mosul in 1899. Educated in Ottoman military schools, he was commissioned in the Turkish army in 1917 and in the Iraqi army in 1921.

A graduate of Camberley and Quetta, he was Iraqi Military Attaché in London in 1935 and became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1937. Promoted Colonel in 1939, he was appointed Ministry of Defence member of the Iraqi State Railways Board, and in 1940 he became Director of Military Operations.

In 1941 he opposed Rashid Ali's rebellion and after its collapse he took over command and initiated the Anglo-Iraqi armistice. Commander 2nd Division (Kirkuk), 1941-43; Assistant C.G.S., 1943; promoted Major-General and appointed Commander 1st Division (Diwaniya), 1944. In 1943 he visited the Western Desert battlefields, and in 1946 he attended the victory celebrations in London. In 1948 he was promoted Lieutenant-General and commanded the Iraqi forces in Palestine, where he was involved in the inter-Arab jealousies which prevented the establishment of an effective Arab High Command. In 1949 he returned to command the 1st Division.

He is probably the best Iraqi General officer. He is one of the few with modern military knowledge and is a capable leader and administrator. Although he is an ambitious man he does not dabble in politics; he enjoys the confidence of the army. Temperate and affable, he speaks English and Turkish well and his sympathies are pro-British.

100. Rafail Petros Butti

Christian of Mosul, born 1901. Educated at the Assyrian Orthodox School, Mosul, and at Secondary School, Bagdad. He later attended night classes and graduated from the Bagdad Law School, 1929.

Served in minor posts in the Ministry of Interior from 1925 to 1929. Contributed to the newspaper *Al Iraq* while still an official and after his resignation published *Al Bilad* in partnership with Jebran Malcon (q.v.). As a journalist he was consistently anti-British, but in Iraqi politics he frequently changed sides. He supported Nuri Said from 1921 to 1929, with occasional lapses. He supported Yasin al Hashimi from 1930 to 1935, Bekr Sidqi 1936 to 1937, and Rashid Ali 1938 to 1942. He was interned in 1942 but released in 1943 and resumed publication of *Al Bilad*. He went to Egypt in 1944 and remained there until 1948.

He was Deputy for Mosul in 1935, for Basra in 1939 and for Bagdad in 1948, in which year he attended the inter-Parliamentary Conference at

Rome. He joined the Istiqlal Party in 1948 and was considered as one of its leaders. He resigned from the Majlis with the other Opposition Deputies in March 1950 and from the Istiqlal Party in May, because of its decision to contest the by-elections occasioned by the resignations. Appointed Press Counsellor at the Iraqi Legation in Cairo in February 1951.

Butti is a capable and fearless journalist but he is unscrupulous, venal and quite unreliable.

101. Rashid Ali al Gailani

Bagdad Sunni, born 1892. A distant relation of the Naqib. A Waqf clerk in Ottoman times, he fled to Mosul with the Turks after the capture of Bagdad and practised as a lawyer after the fall of Mosul.

Appointed judge, 1921, he soon showed his ability. Minister of Justice under Yasin al Hashimi, 1924-25, he resigned over the signing of the Turkish Petroleum Company's concession. President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1925-26. Minister of Interior under Jafar al Askari, 1926-28.

Again elected Deputy in 1930, he resigned (with others) in 1931 in protest against the conduct of Nuri Said's Government, and became a prominent member of the nationalist Hizb al Ikha al Watani. Chief Private Secretary to the King 1932-33.

Prime Minister from March to October 1933 he was appointed Senator in 1934. He helped to organise the Euphrates disturbances which forced Ali Jaudat to resign in spring 1935, and became Minister of Interior in the Cabinet then formed by Yasin al Hashimi.

In 1936 he fled to Istanbul after Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'Etat*. Returning to Iraq in 1937, he opposed Jamil Madfai's Government and was deported to Anah for a short time in 1938.

Prime Minister from March 1940 to January 1941, he moved steadily towards a closer understanding with the Axis. He kept close contact with the Italian Legation in Bagdad, supported the intrigues of the Mufti of Jerusalem, sponsored the overtures made by Naji Shaukat (q.v.) to the German Minister in Turkey, and encouraged the pro-Nazi press. Forced to resign by British pressure in January 1941, he returned to office through a *coup d'Etat* in April, installed Sharif Sharaf in place of the Regent and, backed by the Iraqi Army, refused to allow more than one brigade of British troops in Iraq.

In May 1941, when hostilities broke out between the Iraqi Army and the British forces in Habbaniya, he tried to unite the country against Britain but failed to get substantial tribal support. After the defeat of the Iraqi forces he fled to Persia, Turkey, and finally to Germany.

He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to death in 1942. Recognised by the Axis as legitimate Prime Minister of Iraq, he conducted an anti-British campaign by radio throughout the war.

In 1945 he escaped through the German lines to Prague and thence, with a false passport and the unwitting assistance of Allied military transport, to Marseilles, from where he sailed to Beirut. He arrived at Riyadh in September 1945, declared himself to Ibn Saud and was granted asylum.

He is still in Riyadh, an extra thorn in Saudi-Hashimite relations. Ibn Saud is said to be tired of him, but schemes to move him elsewhere have not so far been satisfactory, and seasonal rumours that the Regent had pardoned him have proved untrue. He still has admirers in Iraq, particularly in the Istiqlal Party, and it is by no means certain that Iraq has seen the last of him.

102. Rauf al Bahrani

Bagdad Shia, born 1897. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he was appointed to a clerical post in the

Ministry of Finance in 1922 and rose—it is said not entirely by merit—to be Director-General of Customs and Excise in 1935.

Minister of Finance under Yasin al Hashimi 1935-36. Again Director General of Customs and Excise 1938-40. Minister of Finance under Nuri Said 1940; of Social Affairs under Rashid Ali 1940-41; and again of Social Affairs in Rashid Ali's rebel Government in April-May 1941.

After Rashid Ali's overthrow he fled to Persia, where he was arrested by British forces in autumn 1941 and sent for interment to Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq for trial in 1944, he was condemned to three years' hard labour and sequestration of his property.

After his release he engaged in business and gradually reinstated himself until in May 1950 he was appointed Director-General of Income Tax.

Although he talks the conventional Arab nationalist language, he was a tool rather than an associate of Rashid Ali. Early in 1950 he made himself known to a member of this Embassy and would like to rehabilitate himself in British eyes. He speaks no English.

103. Rauf al Chadirchi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1884. Educated at Istanbul and at Berlin and Geneva Universities. Before the war he was successively a clerk in the legal drafting department of the Turkish Ministry of Justice, a professor of law at the Turkish Law College, Qaimmaqam of Diyala, and adviser on foreign affairs to the Turkish Governor of Bagdad. Immediately before its fall he was the Mayor of Bagdad. He went to Berlin shortly before the occupation, and later to Switzerland. He was not permitted to return to Bagdad until 1920.

In Bagdad he practised as a lawyer and took no part in Nationalist agitation, but was asked to go with his father when the latter was deported to Istanbul in August 1920. He returned in 1921 and took up his law practice, obtaining much of the business of foreign firms owing to his knowledge of languages. Professor at the Bagdad Law School 1922, Dean 1923.

Deputy for Hilla 1924, he opposed the 1922 Treaty. Minister of Finance under Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Minister of Justice under Jafar al Askari 1926. Iraqi Minister to Ankara 1929. He resigned in 1930 and returned to Bagdad as legal adviser to the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Iraqi Minister in London from 1936 to 1939 when he resigned. He generally spends the summer months in England.

Rauf has a charming and kindly personality and looks on the intrigues and enthusiasms of Iraqi politics with an indulgent contempt. He is universally popular and consequently well informed, but will not often talk about politics. He speaks English, French, German and Turkish. Is badly crippled with arthritis.

104. Sa'ad Umar

Born in Kerbala in 1917. Shia. Son of Umar Haj Alwan, one of the Kerbala representatives on the Constituent Assembly. Educated at Kerbala and Bagdad. Graduated in the Law College about 1941. Thereafter he practised as a lawyer in Kerbala until 1947, when he became Deputy for Kerbala. He was not re-elected in 1948, but was put in in a bye-election later in the year. Minister for Social Affairs in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949, and of Education in Tawfik al Suweidi's Cabinet in February 1950. A member of Nuri Pasha's Constitutional Union Party November 1949.

In the Chamber of Deputies after he had failed to substantiate allegations of corruption which he had

made against four Cabinet Ministers, he was suspended for the remainder of the parliamentary session.

A protégé of Saleh Jabr, who was a friend of his father. He owns a little property in Kerbala. He is full of large ideas but very inexperienced and unintelligent.

105. Sadiq al Bassam

Bagdad Shia, born about 1895. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he practised as a lawyer for several years.

Elected Deputy for Kut in 1930, he supported Yasin al Hashimi and was a member of the Ikha al Watani Party. Minister of Education under Yasin al Hashimi 1935-36. Minister of Economics under Nuri Said 1939-40 and of Education under Rashid Ali in 1941.

Remaining inactive during the 1941 disturbances, he was Minister of Justice 1941-42 and of Communications and Works December 1943 to June 1944 under Nuri Said; of Finance under Muhammad as Sadr, January to June 1948; and of Defence under Muzahim Pachachi from June to October 1948. A Senator from 1941, his appointment was not renewed in 1949. A founder member of the United Popular Front, May 1951.

Sadiq is a xenophobe with violent prejudices and ill-concealed fanaticism. As Minister of Defence in 1948 he was mainly responsible for the fierce sentences passed on Jews by the courts martial and for encouraging anti-Jewish feeling. He does not like the British, and his policy is often indistinguishable from that of the Istiqlal Party. He speaks Arabic only.

106. Said Haqqi

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born 1883. Educated Military Academy, Istanbul and gazetted an officer in the Turkish army 1903.

He joined the Iraqi army on its formation in 1921 and reached the rank of colonel. He resigned about 1930 as a result of a disagreement with Taha al Hashimi, then C.G.S. He has subsequently held posts as Director-General of Jails, Director of Civil Aviation and finally, in about 1939, Keeper of the Privy Purse at the Palace. Resigned in June 1951.

Minister of Defence under Arshad al Umari in 1946, for lack of a suitable alternative Kurd, he afterwards returned to his post in the Palace.

He leads a quiet life and politically and socially is almost unknown. He speaks no English.

107. Saleh Jabr, K.B.E.

Shia, born about 1897 in Nasiriya. His father was a carpenter, originally from the Beni Zaid tribe of Shatta. Educated in Nasiriya, he became a clerk in the Najaf court in 1919.

By 1924 he had risen to be head clerk in the Ministry of Justice. He entered the Bagdad Law College the same year, and after graduation in 1927-28 he was appointed as a judge and served for over two years in the Middle Euphrates.

Elected Deputy for the Muntafik in 1930 and 1934, he was Minister of Education under Jamil Madfai November 1933 to February 1934. Mutasarrif Kerbala 1935-36. Appointed Minister of Justice under Hikmat Sulaiman in October 1936, he resigned in June 1937 over the Euphrates disturbances and left the country. He returned after Hikmat's resignation and was appointed Director-General of Customs and Excise.

Minister of Education December 1938 to February 1940 and then of Social Affairs until March 1940 under Nuri Said. Mutasarrif of Basra from June 1940, he supported the Regent when his Royal Highness fled to Basra in April 1941 to escape from

Rashid Ali. Arrested by Rashid Ali, he narrowly escaped a heavy sentence and was released on condition he left the country. He withdrew to Tehran and returned after Rashid Ali's fall.

Minister of Interior October 1941 to October 1942, of Finance until June 1943, and again of Interior until October 1943 under Nuri Said. Minister of Finance June 1944 to February 1946 and Acting Minister of Supply August to December 1944 under Hamdi Pachachi. During Pachachi's absences he acted as Prime Minister and was expected to form a Government when the Pachachi Cabinet resigned. He was not, however, chosen, and spent much of the summer of 1946 in England.

He was appointed honorary K.B.E. for war services in 1946.

After a short time as Minister of Finance under Nuri Said in November 1946 he became the first Shia Prime Minister of Iraq after the elections of March 1947. Forced to resign in January 1948 by popular demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty, he spent much of 1948 abroad, but gradually recovered his position during 1949 and became Minister of Interior under Tawfik Suweidi in February 1950. He was not invited to join Nuri Said's cabinet in September 1950 and he spent the winter months abroad. His relations with Nuri improved in the spring of 1951 but efforts to bring him into the cabinet did not succeed. In June he was granted permission to form the Popular Socialist Party.

Saleh's merit has justified his rise from obscurity to be the first Shia Prime Minister and most powerful Shia politician in Iraq. He has a strong personality and is capable, energetic and courageous. His influence in the Euphrates area is greater than any other man's and many of the better young officials are his admirers. On the other hand, as he showed when Prime Minister, he is dictatorial, secretive, pompous and vindictive; and thus he makes many bitter enemies. But he and Nuri Said are the two most influential statesmen in Iraq, and as long as they co-operate their authority will not easily be challenged. Division would weaken both, for Nuri lacks Saleh's strength of purpose and Saleh has none of Nuri's adroitness. Moreover, Saleh's influence in the North is not extensive.

As an administrator Saleh Jabr left a good name, though he was too aloof to make many personal friends. As Prime Minister he concerned himself too much with long-range economic planning and foreign policy, neglecting his colleagues and his enemies and the necessary short-term economic measures. This neglect was the ultimate cause of his fall.

His sympathies are with Britain, but he is a hard bargainer for the interests of his country. His great disappointment in foreign affairs was his failure in 1947 to persuade the Arab League to impose oil sanctions on the Americans as a reprisal for their pro-Zionist policy.

His first wife died in 1936 and in 1942 he married the strong-minded and meddlesome daughter of the late Addai al Jeryan, chief of the influential Albu Sultan tribe of Hilla. During the war her interference lost him much support when the Albu Sultan were divided, but in recent years he has regained, and profited by, the full support of the Hilla district.

He speaks English.

108. Salih Saib al Jubburi

Sunni of the Jubur tribe of Mosul, born in 1898. Commissioned in the Turkish army in 1916 and in the Iraqi army in 1921, he was appointed instructor in the newly formed Small Arms School in Bagdad. During this appointment he attended a small arms course at Hythe, and later attended courses at the Iraqi Staff College and the Staff College, Camberley.

A personal friend of Bekr Sidqi and a supporter of the 1936 *coup d'Etat*, he was retired after the assassination of Bekr Sidqi and appointed Assistant Director-General of the Iraqi State Railways. In 1941, after Rashid Ali's flight, he was invited to rejoin the army and was appointed G.O.C. 3rd Division. In 1944 he succeeded Ismail Namiq (q.v.) as Chief of the General Staff. He still holds this appointment. He was promoted lieutenant-general in 1945 and general in 1950.

He neither drinks, smokes nor gambles, and is said to be just and honest; but he has neither the ability nor the personality to be a good C.G.S. and his impotence as a leader was displayed in the 1948 Palestine campaign. He speaks English.

109. Salman Sheikh Daud

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1900. Once a lawyer and journalist, he was one of the first Iraqis to attack the Axis openly and independently in speeches and in the press after the outbreak of the Second World War. He was a member of the delegation of Iraqi journalists who visited Britain in 1945 and is Bagdad representative of the Arab News Agency. He was elected Deputy in 1943, 1947 and 1948.

Wealthy and given to women and drink, he has become a wreck of a man. Formerly a critic of Nuri Said's Governments he is now the boon-companion of Nuri's less reputable associates. He has very little political influence. He speaks some French.

110. Sami Fattah

A native of Mosul of Kurdish origin, born in 1905. Educated at the Teachers' Training College in Bagdad, he taught in Iraqi schools from 1922 to 1925.

In 1925 he joined the Iraqi Army and was sent to Sandhurst in 1926. Commissioned in the Iraqi Army in 1928, he was attached to the newly formed Royal Iraqi Air Force and returned to England for training with the R.A.F. When he came back to Iraq he was appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force, in which he has served ever since.

He graduated from the Iraqi Staff College in 1937 and in 1941, after the Rashid Ali rebellion, he was appointed Commander of the R.I.A.F. He has held this appointment ever since (with the rank of Brigadier), except for a short interlude in 1948 when he was sent to Europe on a secret arms purchasing mission which was a complete failure.

He is an energetic and jovial man, a good disciplinarian, and one of the Iraqi army's best leaders. He has made every effort to improve the training and equipment of the R.I.A.F. He speaks English well and his sympathies are pro-British.

111. Sami Shawkat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Brother of Naji Shawkat (q.v.). Graduated from Military College of Medicine, Istanbul, 1916. Joined the Arab army in Syria in 1919.

Appointed to Iraqi Health Service 1921; Director-General of Education 1937; Director-General of Public Health 1936; again Director-General of Education 1939.

Minister of Social Affairs 1939 and of Education 1940 under Nuri Said. He was re-appointed Director-General of Education in April 1940 and retained this position through the disturbances of 1941 until 1943, when he became Director-General of Social Affairs.

Resigned from Government service in 1945 and started the newspaper *Ba'th al Qawmi*, which was violently nationalist, anti-Communist and anti-British and was suppressed in 1946. In 1949 he started a political party named *Islah*, together with a few retired officials. Elected Deputy for Kut in the bye-elections of June 1950.

He is earnest, obtuse and fairly honest, with an exaggerated sense of his own importance. He speaks Arabic and Turkish only.

112. Shakir al Wadi, M.V.O.

Bagdad Sunni, born 1894. An officer in the Turkish army from 1915 to the Armistice, he joined the Iraqi army in 1921.

Promoted captain in 1928, he was attached for training to British units in the United Kingdom in 1929. In 1930 he was promoted major and made A.D.C. to King Faisal, on whose staff he served during His Majesty's State visit to Britain in 1933. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel and attended the Staff College, Camberley, in 1935.

Returning to Iraq in 1936, he was appointed G.S.O.I. in the Kirkuk Division, of which Bekr Sidqi was the G.O.C., and was the latter's right-hand man in the 1936 *coup d'Etat*. Appointed military attaché in London after the murder of Bekr Sidqi in 1937, he was dismissed and placed on the retired list a few weeks later, and soon began to take part in political intrigue.

Appointed second secretary in the Iraqi Legation in Tehran in 1939, he later fell under the influence of the German Legation there and as *chargé d'affaires* in 1941 he dutifully carried out the instructions of Rashid Ali's rebel Government.

Consul at Jerusalem 1941-44. First secretary (and sometimes *chargé d'affaires*) in the Iraqi Legation in London 1944-46. Appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1946.

Minister of Defence under Nuri Said November 1946 to March 1947; under Saleh Jabr March 1947 to January 1948; under Muzahim Pachachi October 1948 to January 1949; under Nuri Said January 1949 to December 1949; and under Tawfiq Suweidi from February 1950 and under Nuri Said from September 1950. He acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs from September 1950 to February 1951. He became a member of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Union Party in November 1950. Appointed Senator March 1949.

Shakir enjoys the personal friendship and confidence of the Regent, to whose influence he owes his frequent ministerial appointments since 1946. He is ambitious and fairly capable; corrupt, but popular in the army, for whom, through his influence with the Regent, he can get things that others could not. He is widely disliked in political circles, partly through jealousy and partly on account of his very disreputable private life. He speaks English well and supports Iraq's British connexion.

113. Dr. Shawkat al Zahawi

Kurd, born about 1898, the son of a colonel in the Ottoman army. Educated in Bagdad and at the Military Medical College in Constantinople, he joined the Iraqi Health Service in 1922.

He has specialised in pathology, on which he has written a number of articles. He is now Director of the Central Pathological Institute and acting Professor of Pathology in the Royal Medical College.

He was Minister of Social Affairs under Tawfiq al Suweidi for a short time in 1946.

In the Royal Medical College he is an incompetent intriguer, but since he is married to a daughter of the late Mohammed Fadhil Pasha al Daghestani, and therefore has connexions with Najib al Rawi (q.v.) and Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.), he cannot easily be unseated. He speaks English.

114. Taha al Hashemi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888. Educated at Istanbul and served in the Turkish army in Arabia and the Yemen during the First World War. Appointed to the Turkish General Staff 1920.

He returned to Bagdad in 1922, joined the Iraq army and was given command of the troops in Mosul. C.G.S. 1923. He was on the staff of the High Commissioner for the frontier negotiations with

Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne 1924. When the post of C.G.S. was abolished he became tutor to the then Crown Prince Ghazi 1924; Chief of the Census Department 1926; and Director of Education 1928. In 1930 he again became C.G.S. In 1931 he visited the Imam Yahya and concluded the Iraq-Yemen Treaty of Friendship. He was in Turkey in October 1936 when the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'Etat* forced the resignation of the Prime Minister (Taha's brother, the late Yasin al Hashemi), and he did not return to Iraq until September 1937, after the murder of Bekr Sidqi.

Elected Deputy for Bagdad December 1937 and again in 1939. In December 1938, in collaboration with the C.G.S., Husain Fawzi (q.v.), he organised the military demonstration which caused the resignation of Jamil Madfai (q.v.) and replaced him as Prime Minister by Nuri Said. Taha became Minister of Defence in Nuri's Government and retained this portfolio in the succeeding Government of Rashid Ali in 1940. He resigned in January 1941 and himself became Prime Minister in February. He failed to break the influence of the pro-Axis military clique, who overthrew him and set up the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali a month later. He then retired to Turkey, where he remained for the rest of the war, because Nuri Said was unwilling to allow him to return.

He spent much of the time after the war in Syria, but in May 1951 he played the leading part in the formation of the United Popular Front. He was elected President of the Front's Supreme Committee.

115. Tahsin Qadri, K.C.V.O.

Sunni of Damascus, born 1893. He was with King Faisal in Damascus and accompanied him to Europe in 1920. Came to Bagdad with the King and was appointed A.D.C. in 1921.

Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1932, he accompanied King Faisal on his State visit to England in 1933. He resigned in 1936 owing to Princess Azza's scandalous marriage. Counsellor to Iraqi Legation, Tehran, 1936. Consul-General, Bombay, 1937. Director of Protocol in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in February and Consul-General, Beirut, in July 1939. He became, in addition, *Chargé d'affaires* at Damascus when the Iraqi Government recognised the new Syrian Government in 1943. Accredited as Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1944. Acting Director-General, Foreign Affairs, 1945, Minister at Paris 1946. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1947. In June 1949 he was temporarily appointed Minister at Tehran when the Regent visited Persia in that year, but returned to his post at the Palace a few months later.

Tahsin is sociable and clever and makes an efficient and agreeable Master of Ceremonies. He much enjoys his whisky and the company of European ladies. Politically he is a lightweight and in spite of his opportunities has little influence over the Regent. He is married to the heiress of Abdul Wahhab Pasha Qartas of Basra. He speaks Turkish, French and English.

116. Tawfiq al Naib

Sunni, born about 1895. A student at the Law School in Bagdad at the outbreak of the First World War, he completed his studies after the British occupation and was appointed to a post in the Department of Justice in 1923.

From 1926 to 1943 he was a judge and served in many parts of the country, though the bulk of his service was in Bagdad. He gained the reputation of a strong and just judge without political ambitions.

Appointed Mutassarif of Kut 1943, and transferred to Diwaniya 1944. Minister of Economics under Saleh Jabr from September 1947 to January 1948,

and of Interior under Nuri Said from March to September 1949. Appointed Comptroller-General of Accounts in November 1949.

He is a quiet, retiring man who neither smokes nor drinks.

He was a good judge, but a poor administrator. He is impassive and unimaginative, and needs always the letter of the law to support a decision that others may enforce. He speaks no English.

117. Tawfiq Suweidi

Sunni, of a well-established Bagdad family, born about 1889. Educated at Bagdad, Istanbul and Paris, where he studied International Law, he was appointed interpreter to the Ministry of Education at Istanbul in 1913. In the same year he represented Iraq at the Arab Conference in Paris. During the First World War he was in Istanbul. After the armistice he joined the Arab Government in Syria and was appointed a judge at Damascus. He returned to Bagdad in 1921 and was appointed Assistant Government Counsellor and Director of the Law School.

Deputy from 1924. President of the Chamber 1929, he has held the following Cabinet posts: Education under Abdul Musin Sa'adun 1928; Foreign Affairs under Jamil Madfai in 1934; Justice in Jamil Madfai's twelve-day Cabinet of 1935; Foreign Affairs again under Madfai 1937; Foreign Affairs under Taha al Hashimi 1941. He was Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri Pasha for a short time in 1943 but resigned the following year when the constitutional validity of this office was called in question. He was Prime Minister in 1929, 1946 and 1950 and joined Nuri Said's Cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in February 1951.

Tawfiq was Iraqi Minister at Tehran in 1931 and has had considerable diplomatic experience. As Minister for Foreign Affairs he headed the Iraqi Delegation to Geneva in 1937, where he is said to have handled the Palestine and Assyrian questions with tact and moderation. He again represented Iraq at Geneva in 1938 and afterwards visited London to discuss the Palestine problem with the British Foreign and Colonial Secretaries. He was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and in 1948 he was one of the signatories of the unratified Portsmouth Treaty.

His elder brother, the late Naji Suweidi, was a prominent member of Rashid Ali's rebel Government but Tawfiq was not implicated in the movement. Nevertheless, he is not completely trusted by the Regent and was not appointed a Senator until 1947. The Regent also vetoed Nuri's proposal to include him in his Cabinet in the autumn of 1949.

Tawfiq is intelligent, subtle and not altogether honest, either politically or financially. In Arab affairs he generally follows the Egyptian lead and in Iraqi politics he is normally opposed to Nuri Said but has co-operated with him on occasion. He is popularly supposed to be a Liberal. It was he who permitted the operation of political parties in 1946 after they had been banned for many years, and for a short time in 1946 he was president of the Liberal Party. He also has some reputation as a nationalist, but it is doubtful if any of his political convictions are strongly held. He is a rich man, a landed proprietor, who has also wide business interests, in many cases in partnership with Iraqi Jews. He is known to have used his political influence in favour of his business interests. He has a keen sense of humour, is excellent company and speaks French and English fluently but incorrectly.

118. Tawfiq Wahbi Ma'ruf, C.B.E.

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born in 1887. Graduating from the Turkish Military College in 1904, he served

in European Turkey and was a regimental commander and later a staff officer in the Ottoman army during the 1914-18 war.

After the war he joined the Iraqi army and was appointed Military Adviser to Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.) in 1923. Leaving Sheikh Mahmud when the latter's conduct became impossible, he was appointed Commandant of the Bagdad Military College with the rank of colonel. In 1929 he was sent on a course to the United Kingdom.

Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya for a short time in 1930, he remained unemployed for several years afterwards but was ultimately appointed Director-General of Surveys. He resigned from Government service in 1941 and made a comfortable fortune as a contractor.

Minister of Economics under Hamdi Pachachi 1944-46, of Education under Saleh Jabr in 1947, and of Social Affairs under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1950. Made a Senator in 1948.

Appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services in 1946.

Tawfiq is keenly interested in Kurdish culture and has spent much time compiling Kurdish dictionaries and writing Kurdish grammars. To young Kurdish nationalists he pleads moderation, but he is not influential with them.

He is a kind man, frank, affable and an Anglophile. His achievements in office fall short of his excellent intentions, and he is not a man to sway his colleagues. He speaks English, Persian and Turkish as well as Kurdish and Arabic.

119. Umar Nadhmi

Kurd, born Kifri 1893. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he was a civil judge before the 1914-18 war and Public Prosecutor to the Bagdad Military Court during the war.

He served as a judge again from 1921 to 1927, and from then to 1937 he was Mutasarrif in a number of provinces. Director-General of Revenues 1937-38.

Minister of Economics and Communications and later of Interior under Nuri Said 1939-40; of Communications and Works under Rashid Ali in 1940; of Interior under Taha al Hashimi in 1941 and under Nuri Said 1943-44; of Justice under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1946, under Nuri Said November 1946 to March 1947 and under Mohammed al Sadr January to March 1948; and of Interior under Muzahim Pachachi 1948-49. Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri Said 1949. Again Minister of Interior under Ali Jaudat December 1949 to February 1950 and again in February 1951 under Nuri Said, whose cabinet he joined as Minister without Portfolio in December 1950. He has been a Senator since 1939.

He probably owes his rise to eminence to the friends he made in the provinces (especially in the North) where he served as Mutasarrif, to the support of Nuri Said, and to a cautious and dignified demeanour. He speaks no English. He enjoys the Regent's confidence.

120. Yahya Qassim

Sunni of Mosul, born 1913. Educated Bagdad Law College.

He joined Government service in 1936. Was appointed Superintendent in the Council of Ministers' Office in 1937 and later transferred to the Iraqi State Railways.

He was at that time an active Left-winger, and was reported to have a hand in the publication of the clandestine newspaper *Al Sharara*. In 1943 he was arrested for the distribution of Leftist literature and was discharged from the Iraqi State Railways. In 1944 he started the newspaper *Al Sha'ab* as the organ of the now defunct Leftist party of that name. He now owns and edits this paper himself, and it is no longer connected with any party. He visited England with a party of journalists in 1945 and became a convinced and outspoken admirer of the British people. In 1946 he joined the National Democratic Party but soon resigned owing to personal differences. He was taken up by Saleh Jabr in 1947 and accompanied him to London in January 1948 for the signature of the unratified Portsmouth Treaty. He again visited England in the summer of 1949. In addition to journalism he practises as a lawyer and is paid a retainer by the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Yahya is a clever young man with a frank and friendly manner and a pronounced stammer. His newspaper is above the low level of the Bagdad press, and he has the courage on occasion to express unpopular opinions. He is completely loyal to Saleh Jabr, whom he regards as Iraq's main hope for the future. He has not abandoned his Socialist leanings and is a sincere advocate of reforms, but he is now no revolutionary. He is married to a niece of the late Amin Zaki Suleiman and speaks good English.

121. Yusuf Abdullah al Gailani (Saiyid)

Sunni, born 1907 of the family of the Naqibs of Bagdad. Educated at Bagdad and Balliol College, Oxford.

He returned to Iraq in 1934 and was appointed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in which he became Director of the Political Section in 1945 and Director-General in 1949 and Acting Under-Secretary in January 1951. He became a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in November 1950. He was a member of the Iraqi Delegations to Arab League meetings in 1949 and 1950.

Yusuf is intelligent and friendly, cautious and a little shy. He takes no part in politics and is well informed only on those questions of Iraqi foreign policy on which he is employed. He complains of the amateurish and emotional conduct of Iraq's foreign relations by his successive political chiefs, and is occasionally critical of the intervention of the Regent in the detailed conduct of foreign affairs. He is, however, a loyal, discreet and competent official. He speaks excellent English, and his wife, who is also a Gailani, appears modestly in mixed society.

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No. 14

IRAQ: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir J. Troutbeck to Mr. Morrison. (Received 2nd July)

(No. 110. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, *26th June, 1951.*

With reference to my predecessor's despatch No. 151 of 1st July, 1950, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying report on Heads of Foreign Missions in Bagdad.

I have, &c.

J. M. TROUTBECK.

Enclosure in No. 14

Report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Bagdad, 1951

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Afghanistan

Sardar Ghulam Yahya Tarzi, Minister (20th June, 1948).

*Sardar Ghulam Tarzi was Minister of Communications in Kabul before coming here. His previous diplomatic experience had been in Berlin many years ago, and German is his only European language. His wife is related to the Afghan Royal Family and they have seven children. (Written in 1948.)

*He always seems rather lost and he has made no position for himself here. His wife is purdah. (Written in 1949.) A grown-up daughter has recently emerged who speaks English and German. (Written in 1950.)

China

*Mr. Lee Ginfa has been Chargé d'Affaires since July 1946, and is recognised by the Iraqi Government as representing the Nationalist Government. He and his wife still appear at most diplomatic social functions. (Written in 1950.)

They are seldom seen now, and he has not called on me.

Egypt

Ahmed Mohamed Farrag, Minister (4th March, 1951.)

Ahmed Mohamed Farrag Bey is also Minister at Amman, where he presented his letters on 28th April, 1951.

He left for Amman shortly after his arrival and has not been back since. I have therefore seen little of him. In his absence, the legation is in charge of the Second Secretary, Hassan Wahby, who is friendly if somewhat colourless.

France

Claude Achille Clarac, Minister (22nd June, 1950).

*M. Clarac is a career diplomatist. He served before the war at Washington and Tehran and was in charge of the Consulate at Tetuan, which he handed over to the Free French after the Allied landings in 1942. He was subsequently in Lisbon and Chungking and in Indo-China as diplomatic counsellor to the High Commissioner. He was appointed Inspector-General of French diplomatic missions in 1947.

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*He gives me the impression that he will take more kindly to Bagdad than his predecessor. He speaks English well. (Written in 1950.)

M. Clarac is an excellent colleague, intelligent, co-operative and blessedly unsullied by protocol. He is a close personal friend of several members of my staff. He seems to accept philosophically both the somewhat unenviable position enjoyed by his country in Iraq and the meagreness of the staff which the Quai d'Orsay allots to the French Legation here.

M. Clarac is a widower.

Holy See

Mgr. Armand Etienne Blanquet du Chayla, Apostolic delegate (20th November, 1948.)

*Mgr. du Chayla, the Latin Archbishop of Bagdad, was appointed Apostolic Delegate on 20th November, 1948. He is a Frenchman and a member of the Carmelite Order. His appointment represents a departure from the stand hitherto taken by the Iraqi Government that the Apostolic Delegate in Iraq should not be the national of a major Power. He is an agreeable and cultivated man, and it is always a pleasure to meet him. He has spent ten years in Bagdad.

*Mgr. du Chayla's diplomatic position is still not regularised. (Written in 1949.)

*Mgr. du Chayla is a sick man. He has returned to France in order to have an operation. (Written in 1950.)

He has returned to Bagdad but makes no secret of his opinion that twelve years' residence here is enough. Aristocratic and fastidious, he does not seem to have taken very kindly to Iraqis, whether of the Muslim or Christian persuasion.

Indonesia

Dr. R. Tirtawinata, Minister (28th March, 1951).

Dr. Tirtawinata, who has the personal rank of Ambassador, was Attorney-General in the Indonesian Government, but lost the post apparently because of his failure to secure the extradition of Westerling from Singapore, and of other shortcomings. His appointment to Bagdad is therefore attributed to political motives.

In addition to an array of secretaries, Dr. Tirtawinata has a wife and a considerable family, to whom he is anxious to give an English education. He goes out of his way to be affable and friendly but does not strike me as a man of any great personality. He and his wife both speak English.

Italy

M. Alfonso Errera left Bagdad early in May. His successor is to be M. Guelfo Zamboni, but he has not yet arrived in Bagdad and the legation is in charge of the First Secretary, M. Americo Gigli.

Jordan

Omar Zaki Pasha Al Afyouni, Minister (22nd June, 1950).

Omar Zaki, now Minister for the second time, has a long connexion with Iraq, having been Qaimmaqam of Kut in 1916. He later accompanied General Maude to Bagdad. After a considerable period as Consul he served as Minister in 1946 and 1947. Though not a man of any remarkable ability, he is a loyal servant of King Abdullah (although by birth a Lebanese) and a firm supporter of Britain. He has always shown

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himself most friendly to us. He has a French wife of much charm and two equally charming daughters.

Lebanon

Kadhim Al Solh, Minister (9th August, 1947).
 *Kadhim Al Solh is a cousin of Riad Al Solh, Prime Minister of the Lebanon. Aged about 45, and a Sunni Moslem of Beirut, he is a graduate of the Damascus Law School. He started life as a journalist, until his paper was suspended by the French. Subsequently he organised a small but influential nationalist (but not anti-British) political party, the Nida al Qammi. He speaks good French and some English. (Written in 1948.) His wife is purdah.

*Kadhim Al Solh does not seem to have acquired any influence with the Iraqis and I have seldom met him in Iraqi houses. (Written in 1950.)

He appears very little in society.

Netherlands

M. W. A. M. Daniels, who had been Minister since 1947, and who resided in Beirut, has been transferred to Stockholm, and M. B. A. Piets, who has been serving as First Secretary resident in Bagdad since July 1949, presented a letter on 3rd June, 1951, as Chargé d'Affaires *en pied*.

M. Piets, with his English wife, is a considerable asset to Bagdad society, though his official duties cannot be very overwhelming.

Persia

Hussain Quds Nakha'i, Ambassador (4th June, 1951).

Mr. Hussain Quds Nakha'i (No. 149 in Persian Personalities for 1950) has held various posts in the Persian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and has served in Washington, London and Izmir.

I have had no opportunity as yet to do more than exchange visits with him. The Iraqis regard him as a great improvement on his predecessor, though they are surprised at the rapidity with which he has reached ambassadorial rank. Reports preceded him that he was violently anti-British but my French colleague believes this to be untrue. He has served three times in London, the last time during the war, and speaks English fluently.

He is married but has left his wife in Persia till after the hot season.

Saudi Arabia

Abdullah Al Khaiyal, Minister (9th February, 1947).

*After a period in the legation as a Secretary and then as Chargé d'Affaires, Abdullah Al Khaiyal was appointed Minister in February 1947. He is friendly and intelligent, a genuine Saudi from Riyadh, but is disliked by the Iraqis, who suspect the legation of acting as an intermediary between Rashid Ali and his friends in Iraq. I would not trust him far. He has taken lessons in English from the British Council staff and has made considerable progress.

*Last year he surprised Bagdad society by giving the first Saudi party to which ladies were invited. He went home for a month on leave in April for the first time in many years. (Written in 1950.)

He is a regular visitor to the British Institute.

Soviet Union

There is no Soviet Minister accredited to Bagdad. Since April 1950 the legation has remained in charge of M. Sergei Nemchinov, who has the rank of First Secretary. M. Nemchinov came from Moscow, where he had been concerned with Middle Eastern Affairs. He was born in Moscow in 1910, and has spent most of his life there. He taught history in the University of Moscow, specialising in the period up to the seventeenth century. During the war he went into

the army, but owing to defective eyesight was not sent to the front: instead he served as a staff officer on training formations in Siberia. He does not appear to have been long in the Russian diplomatic service, but was for a few years in Cairo after the war. He is not an aggressive type of Russian and seems to want to make himself agreeable. He speaks English slowly and carefully. He is married.

Spain

Juan Manuel de Aristegui, Minister (11th February, 1948).

*Formerly Spanish Consul-General in Jerusalem. He is stout and amiable and speaks passable English. (Written in 1949.) He is also accredited to Kabul. He left for Spain in November 1950, and I have not yet met him.

Since my arrival the legation has been in charge of M. Pedros Antonio Cuyas y Ortis de la Vega, a bachelor and a somewhat comic figure.

Syria

Adnan Azhari, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.*

Adnan Azhari comes from Latakia, where he was Mayor until his appointment to Bagdad by Nazim Qudsi, of whom he is a devoted supporter.

He is married, but neither he nor his wife plays a great part here. They speak French but no English.

Turkey

Rahmi Apak, Minister (16th January, 1950).

*M. Apak is a former army officer whose first diplomatic appointment was as Minister to Portugal, about three years ago.

*He was a student at the Turkish Military College with Nuri Pasha and Taha Pasha Hashimi before the First World War, and served for a short time in Iraq in 1916. He was Military Attaché in Moscow from 1924 to 1927 and claims to speak Russian fluently. He left the army to enter the Turkish Parliament, where he sat as a Republican Party Deputy for about 13 years.

*He is a rugged character, and I do not think he is making himself liked by the Iraqis. He is a keen bridge player. He speaks no English, and French with considerable effort. His wife, who is generally lacking in the graces, speaks very little French and no English. She surprised him by arriving unannounced in Bagdad with their daughter soon after his arrival. (Written in 1950.)

United States

The Hon. Edward Savage Crocker, Ambassador (12th March, 1949).

*Mr. Edward S. Crocker, a career diplomatist, before coming here was Counsellor at Warsaw. He has also served at San Salvador, Rome, Budapest, Stockholm, Tokyo (where he spent eight years) and Lisbon. (Written in 1949.)

I have found Mr. Crocker a good colleague. He went out of his way to welcome me on my arrival and has been helpful and friendly ever since. He strikes me as shrewd and intelligent, and anxious to ensure that there should be no duplication in the various forms of aid extended by our two countries to Iraq. Latterly he has appeared to be somewhat disillusioned about the Iraqis, perhaps as a result of their frigid reception of President Truman's plan to give military and economic aid to the Middle East. His wife suffers from poor health and regularly spends the whole of the hot weather, in other words half the year, out of the country. He therefore looks at times somewhat lonely, though he has been kept busy since I arrived by having practically no staff other than an immense array of Service attachés. He circulates a great deal in society but, whenever

he can, gets away to the north, where he rents a villa. His chief distraction is bridge, but both he and his wife have other keen hobbies, and he can talk with knowledge on a surprising number of subjects.

Representatives accredited to the Iraq Government but resident elsewhere

Belgium

Count Geoffrey d'Aspremont-Lynden, Minister (5th June, 1947).

*The Minister resides in Beirut and finds it hard to visit Bagdad. He spent three weeks here with his wife in March and April 1949. This was his first visit for about eighteen months. (Written in 1949.) He has not been here since.

*M. Laurent Janssen resides here as Chargé d'Affaires. He and his wife are very friendly, but speak little English. (Written in 1950.)

Denmark

M. Axel Sporon-Fiedler, Minister (7th April, 1949).

*M. Sporon-Fiedler, who was formerly Danish Consul-General in San Francisco, is also accredited to Tehran, where he normally resides. He paid a short visit to Bagdad in April, accompanied by his wife. (Written in 1950.)

Ethiopia

Taffassa Habt-Mikael, Minister (17th September, 1949).

*He is also accredited to Cairo, where he normally resides, Jedda, Damascus and Beirut.

I have not met him. (Written in 1950.)

Greece

There is at present no Greek Minister accredited to the Iraq Government.

*M. Nicholas Hadji Vassiliou, who has been Chargé d'Affaires since 27th November, 1947, is

also Chargé d'Affaires in Beirut, where he resides. He has paid one short visit to Bagdad since my arrival. He is rather boisterous, and did not impress me altogether favourably. (Written in 1948.)

*He has not reappeared. (Written in 1950.) I have not met him.

Mexico

M. Antonio Mendez Fernandez, Minister (3rd February, 1951).

M. Antonio Mendez Fernandez resides in Beirut, and I have not yet met him. He made a good impression on my Counsellor when he came to Bagdad before my arrival to present his letters.

Norway

M. Ernest Krogh-Hansen, Minister (14th April, 1949).

*M. Krogh-Hansen is accredited also to Turkey, Pakistan and Persia and is resident in Ankara. He spent two weeks here after presenting his credentials in the (vain) hope of concluding an Air Agreement rapidly. (Written in 1949.)

*He had not been here since. (Written in 1950.)

He spent a day or so in Bagdad in May and seems a friendly person.

Sweden

M. H. Eriksson, Minister (27th June, 1949).

M. Eriksson is also accredited to Tehran and normally resides there.

*He paid a short visit to Bagdad in February 1950. (Written in 1950.)

Switzerland

M. Franz Kappeler, Minister (24th February, 1951).

M. Kappeler, who resides in Beirut, was formerly Chargé d'Affaires *en pied*. The only resident member of the staff is M. J. P. Jecquier. He and his Austrian wife are very popular in the foreign community.